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EARLY GENERALISATIONS CONCERNING POPULATION  
MOVEMENT AND CULTURE CONTACT: Prolegomena to  
a Study of Mental Mobility: by Howard Becker. II.

## 2. POST-CLASSICAL WRITERS.

WHEN the *Pax Romana* passed away and the ancient world went into a decline, as Seeck puts it,<sup>29</sup> the brilliant secular culture of the aristocratic Greeks and Romans gave way to the crudities of Patristic literature and the exploits of half-Latinised chieftains—a new sacred culture began to develop. Instead of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Cicero, and Cæsar, the Muse Clio was compelled to accept such sorry consorts as Rhabanus Maurus (776-856), his pupil and disciple Walafrid Strabo (c. 809-849) and John Scotus Erigena (d. 877). Heinrich von Sybel has summarised the work of these Patristic epigoni in such a way that one can clearly see the relation between their maunderings and the fantastic nonsense of Orosius and Cassiodorus, their models:

THIS period possessed no idea of historical judgment, no sense of historical reality, no trace of critical reflection. The principle of authority, ruling without limitation in the religious domain, defended all tradition, as well as traditional dogma. Men were everywhere more inclined to believe than to examine, everywhere imagination had the upper hand of reason.<sup>30</sup>

WHILE Sybel's severe judgment is justified in the cases mentioned, one should not forget the handicaps under which men laboured in the Dark Ages and early Middle Ages. Further, the annalists of Lorsch, Fulda, Saint Bertin, Saint Vaast and Cologne, the chroniclers Hermann of Reichenau, Ekkehard of Aurach, Otto of Freising, Arnold of Lübeck, Hugh of Flavigny, Sigelbert of Gembloux, Fredegarius the Schoolmaster, Regino of Prüm, Roger of Hoveden, Roger of Wendover, *und dergleichen mehr!* are by no means contemptible as recorders of fact. Again, efforts at systematic interpretation of history were made by Gregory of Tours, Paul the Deacon, the isolated secularist Nithard, Widukind, Liutprandt of Cremona, Richer, Glaber, Guibert

<sup>29</sup> Otto Seeck, *GESCHICHTE DES UNTERGANGS DER ANTIKEN WELT*. (Berlin: Siemenroth and Troschel, 1897).

<sup>30</sup> S. H. v. Sybel, quoted in H. E. Barnes, "History, Its Rise and Development," in *ENCYC. AMER.*, 1st ed.

of Nogent, Ordericus Vitalis, Gildas, the venerable Bede, William of Malmesbury, and William of Newburgh. The great crusader, Villehardouin, should be mentioned as a historian with secular leanings; he and Nithard paid some attention to "worldly things." With all our efforts to be fair, however, it must be conceded that in general the Christian philosophy of history excluded nearly all naturalistic trends, and that we are simply given accounts of *events* instead of social *processes*.

NOT until the thirteenth century, when the influence of Aristotle impinged upon the *doctor angelicus*, St. Thomas Aquinas, are there to be found many secular or naturalistic observations upon the effects of population movement and culture contact. Aquinas, however, does little more than repeat Aristotle's comments on Plato: (1) commerce brings strangers into the *polis*, and the resulting culture contact engenders mental mobility which leads to social disorganisation; (2) "a nation of shopkeepers" soon becomes unwilling and unable to go to war, therefore exports should consist only of unavoidable surpluses, while imports should be pared to the bone of bare necessity;<sup>31</sup> (3) the city-state should not be on the coast, for maritime cities are notorious for their mutable morals, the result of cosmopolitanism and a high rate of population movement; (4) it should, however, be near enough to the sea to get absolutely necessary supplies from abroad, so that on the whole the Golden Mean of an intermediate position should be chosen.<sup>32</sup>

THE cross-fertilisation of cultures produced in Naples, Paris, Cologne, and Rome (where Aquinas studied) by the writings of Aristotle certainly produced nothing startlingly new, either in the work of the *doctor angelicus* or any of his contemporaries. To be sure, the cogitations of the Schoolmen were of considerably higher grade, so far as our theme affords a basis for judgment, than the disquisitions of Maurus and Erigena, and this superiority may in part be due to Aristotle's influence, but after all they had little interest in such secular "common-places" as the foundation and disruption of states and the increase or decrease in population movement, culture contact, social change, and mental mobility. Mass movements like the earlier Crusades and the slow nibbling of the Commercial Revolution did far more toward the overthrow of the sacred community and the establishment of an incipient secular society than did all the syllogisms of the Stagirite.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Aquinas, "De Regimine Principum" contained in *OPUSCULA SELECTA* S. THOMAS AQUINATIS (Paris, 1881).

<sup>32</sup> J. M. Littlejohn, *THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE SCHOOLMEN AND OF GROTIUS*, Columbia University thesis, N.Y., 1896, part II.

<sup>33</sup> [Cf. the writer's articles, "Unrest, Culture Contact, and Release," *SOUTHWESTERN SOC. SCI. QTY.*, October, 1931; and "Processes of Secularisation," *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, XXIV., 2 and 3 (1932), parts I. and II., pp. 138-154 and 266-286.]

It must not be forgotten, however, that some of Aristotle's most important writings first reached Europe of the Middle Ages through the translations of the Spanish and Provençal Jews (the Ibn Tibbon family of translators, among others) who themselves had received the Greek fire from the Moors of Spain. The Moors, being good Moslems, made the *haj* or pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lives and sometimes oftener, as we may see from the example of the greatest Moslem traveller, Ibn Battūta of Tangier,<sup>34</sup> who first and last journeyed some seventy-five thousand miles (four trips to Mecca and return making up a good part of the sum, although he also travelled to China and elsewhere). By means of these frequent pilgrimages culture contact with the Arabian East was maintained, and the Arabian East was the centre of secular learning and enlightenment when Europe was deep in the sacred Dark Ages.<sup>35</sup> The Greek writings were not merely *known*; they exercised a formative influence. Commentaries on Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo were written by Moslems before the eleventh century which Europe did not equal until the seventeenth.<sup>36</sup>

ALL the rich experience of the Moslem travellers and the ripe culture of the Greeks comes to a focus in that greatest of fourteenth-century geographers, historians and sociologists, the Berber of Tunis, Ibn Khaldūn. His importance lies, as Barnes has said, in the feat, unique for his time, of having been able to regard history as a natural process.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Battūta, *TRAVELS IN ASIA AND AFRICA, 1325-1354*, translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb (New York: McBride, 1929).

<sup>35</sup> "... zwischen dem Entwicklungsgange des von den Fesseln des religiösen Systems mehr und mehr sich losringenden Denkens im Abendlande und im Morgenlande macht sich ein sehr wesentlicher Unterschied bemerkbar. Während hier rasch und ganz besonders in den Ländern arabischer Zunge eine überaus reiche und mannigfaltige weltliche Literatur sich entfaltete die in der grossen Masse der gebildeten Classen der Nation eifrige Aufnahme fand, blieb im Abendlande die Schriftstellerei, durch die erste Hälfte des Mittelalters, fast ganz das Eigenthum der Klöster und ihrer düsteren Einwohner . . .

"So kam es, dass lange bevor in den Klöstern der europäischen Länder man daran dachte sich Rechenschaft zu geben über den allgemeinen Verlauf des Stromes der Völkergeschichte, schon von verschiedenen Denkern des Islams das grosse Räthsel des Lebens und das Menschendaseins zum Gegenstande ernster und selbstständiger Betrachtung gewählt worden war" [Alfred von Kremer, "Ibn Chaldun und seine Culturgeschichte des islamischen Reiches" in *SITZUNGSBER. DER KAIS. AKAD. D. WISS., PHILOS.-HIST. CLASSE* (Wien, 1879), Bd. 93, p. 620].

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Robert Briffault, *THE MAKING OF HUMANITY* (London, 1919) *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> "L'histoire a pour véritable objet de nous faire comprendre l'état social de l'homme, c'est-à-dire, la civilisation, et de nous apprendre les phénomènes qui s'y rattachent naturellement, à savoir, la vie sauvage, l'adoucissement des mœurs, l'esprit de famille et de tribu, les divers genres de supériorité que les peuples obtiennent les uns sur les autres et qui amènent la naissance des empires et des dynasties, la distinction des rangs, les occupations auxquelles les hommes consacrent leur travail et leurs efforts, telles que les professions lucratives, les métiers qui font vivre, les sciences, les arts; enfin, tous les changements que la nature des choses peut opérer dans le caractère de la société" (Ibn Khaldoun, *Les prolégomènes*, traduites en français et commentées par M. William MacGuckin (baron) de Slane, Paris; Imprimerie impériale, 1863, Extrait de la Tome XIX. [trois parties] des Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale).

For an excellent, although brief, English discussion of the importance of Ibn Khaldūn see Nathaniel Schmidt, *IBN KHALDUN* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930). First-rate bibliography.

Anticipating Vico and Turgot, he stressed the continuity of historical development *and* the importance of "intrusive factors" (due, among other things, to the movements of the desert dwellers, the Beduin and Berber nomads). "In marked contrast with the static or eschatological conceptions of contemporary Christian historiography was his dynamic thesis that the process of historic growth is subject to constant change . . . and he made clear the co-operation of psychic and environmental factors . . ." <sup>38</sup>

IBN KHALDŪN has been much praised, as we have seen, but no translation of his great PROLEGOMENA TO HISTORY is available in English. Flint paid a good deal of attention to him in THE HISTORY OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY, and in this secondary way only has he become known to the English-speaking world. The only complete translation in any Occidental language, in fact, is that of de Slane, LES PROLÉGOMÈNES D'IBN KALDOUN, which appeared in 1863. The first notice taken of the great Moslem by the scholarly world of the West appears to have been an article (in French) by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall in 1821,<sup>39</sup> which included a translation of chapter or section headings. This was followed in 1835 by an article (in English) by Jakob Grefve,<sup>40</sup> which also was accompanied by a translated list of chapter titles.

His direct influence on sociologists probably dates from 1899, when Gumplowicz published his SOCIOLOGISCHE ESSAYS, for in this book was a chapter on Ibn Khaldūn, "An Arabian Sociologist of the fourteenth century."<sup>41</sup> Due to the stress laid upon the conflict theory of social development by Gumplowicz,<sup>42</sup> Ratzenhofer,<sup>43</sup> and by Ward, with his social karyokinesis,<sup>44</sup> the really significant aspects of the

<sup>38</sup> Harry Elmer Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20.

" . . . le caractère de l'homme dépend des usages et des habitudes, et non pas de la nature ou du temperament. Les choses auxquelles on s'accoutume donnent de nouvelles facultés, une seconde nature, qui remplace le naturel inné" (Ibn Khaldoun, *op. cit.*, p. 264).

<sup>39</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, "Notice sur l'introduction à la connaissance de l'histoire, célèbre ouvrage arabe d'Ibn Khaldun," in JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, I. ser., vol. I., pp. 267-278; vol. IV., pp. 158-161, (Paris 1822-24).

<sup>40</sup> Jakob Grefve, "An Account of the Great Historical Work of the African Philosopher, Ibn Khaldun," in ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS, (London: 1835), III., 387-404.

<sup>41</sup> Ludwig Gumplowicz, SOCIOLOGISCHE ESSAYS, (Innsbruck, Verlag der Wagnerschen University Buchhandlung, 1899).

<sup>42</sup> DER RASSENKAMPF (Innsbruck, 1909).

—, GRUNDRISSE DER SOZIOLOGIE, (Vienna: 1855) transl. by Moore as *Outlines of Sociology* (American Academy of Political Science, 1899).

<sup>43</sup> Ratzenhofer, WESEN UND ZWECK DER POLITIK, (Leipzig, 1893).

—, SOZIOLOGIE (Leipzig, 1907).

<sup>44</sup> L. F. Ward, *Pure Sociology*, (2nd. ed., New York: Macmillan, 1907), pp. 205 *et passim*.

For discussion of the theories of all the above writers of the "conflict school," see the article by Howard Becker and Léon Smelo, "Conflict Theories of the Origin of the State," SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, XXIII., 2 (July, 1931), pp. 65-79.



Berber's doctrine, so far as population movement, culture contact, mental mobility, and social change are concerned, were almost totally obscured. Even the comparatively recent and comprehensive article by Barnes,<sup>45</sup> and Schmidt's excellent book (see footnote 35) do not do justice to this feature of his work. The present-day champion of the conflict theory, Oppenheimer, has only praise for Ibn Khaldūn, but the German Henry George notes only those parts of the Moslem's works which fit into the single tax or *Bodenreform* program, as may plainly be seen from the 1926 edition of *THE STATE*.<sup>46</sup>

Now, the conflict theory is of great importance, but from the point of view here maintained, the theory of the social disorganisation of the nomads produced by sedentary city life is still more important. In the following series of excerpts from the *PROLEGOMENA* (Englished for the first time, so far as the writer has been able to determine), material important for the conflict theory appears, but the basis of selection was relevance to the themes of this article.

FIRST, a discussion of the conflict between sedentary tillage peoples in the fertile areas and the roving herdsmen :

THE condition of the agricultural peoples is superior to that of the nomads : the former live in the villages and the oases, and occupy the mountainous regions. The majority of the Berbers and the other peoples who do not belong to the Arab race are agriculturalists. The peoples who live from the produce furnished by their herds of sheep and cattle usually are addicted to nomadic life . . . They do not go far into the desert, inasmuch as good pasturage is not to be found there. One could put some of the Berbers, the Slavs, the Turks and the Turcomans in this class.

THE peoples who gain their livelihood by raising camels journey more than the others and penetrate more deeply into the desert, [and they] are . . . obliged to make long trips with their herds. As they are sometimes driven away from the high plateaus by the troops detailed to guard these fertile regions, they are obliged to flee into the depths of the desert in order to evade just punishment for their previous misdeeds. Further, they are the most ferocious of human beings, and the inhabitants of the cities look upon them as savage beasts, indomitable and rapacious. Such are the Arabs and other peoples having the same habits, *viz.*, the nomadic Berbers, the Zenata of western Mauretania, the Kurds, the Turcomans and the Turks of the eastern countries. The Arabs, however, are more habituated to nomadic life and make longer journeys than any of the others, because they . . . [are breeders and riders of] camels . . .<sup>47</sup>

SECOND, a contrast between the cowardice of city dwellers and the bravery of nomads :

<sup>45</sup>Barnes, "The Struggle of Races and Social Groups as a Factor in the Development of Political and Social Institutions," *JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT* (1918-19), IX., 394-419.

<sup>46</sup>Franz Oppenheimer, *SYSTEM DER SOZIOLOGIE*, 2. Band, "Der Staat," Jena, Fischer, 1926, 7. Abschnitt in particular.

<sup>47</sup>Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, I., 255-57.

Cf. the writer's article, "Conquest by Pastoral Nomads," *SOCIOLOGY AND SOC. RESEARCH*, XV., 6 (July-August, 1931), pp. 511-26.

THE inhabitants of the cities, being given up to repose and tranquillity, plunge into the pleasures that their well-being and ease make possible, and abandon to their rulers or their military leaders the duty of protecting their persons and their property . . . Free from care, living in perfect security, they renounce the bearing of arms, and leave behind them a posterity which resembles them in this.

THE peoples . . . [who] keep their distance from the great centres of population, [on the contrary, are] habituated to the wild manners that are contracted in the vast expanse of the desert; they avoid the neighborhood of the troops to which the established governments confide the guard of their frontiers, and they reject with disdain the idea of sheltering themselves behind walls and gates.<sup>48</sup>

A PEOPLE that from youth up is trained to fear and submission [city dwellers] does not pride itself in its independence; further, we find among the half-savage Arabian nomads a degree of bravery far superior to that possessed by civilised men.<sup>49</sup>

THIRD, a comparison of the lack of unity among city dwellers with the high degree of integration developed among nomadic groups (because of their constant conflicts and the strength of primary group bonds):

IN both large and small cities the reciprocal enmity of the inhabitants does not lead to serious consequences only because of the . . . magistrates, who are there for the purpose of preventing violence and maintaining order among their charges . . . Among the desert tribes, hostilities cease at the command of their elders and their chiefs, to whom everyone shows the most profound respect . . . It is precisely this that renders the bands of desert Arabs so strong and so formidable; each combatant has but one thought, that of protecting his tribe and his family.<sup>50</sup>

FOURTH, a statement of the fact that nomads become less dangerous antagonists when they adopt a sedentary mode of life, and a generalisation to the effect that a nomad group can always vanquish a sedentary group of equal man-power:

THE character of each nomad tribe, however, varies with the lapse of time. When these tribes establish themselves in the fertile territories of the high plateaus, and when they become habituated to the abundance and well-being that these countries offer them, then their courage becomes enfeebled along with their ferocity and the coarseness of manners they contracted in the desert . . . every people habituated to the nomad life and to the rugged manners engendered in the desert can easily vanquish another more civilised people, even though the latter are numerically as strong as the former and possessed of an equally intense *esprit de corps* . . . Every Arab tribe that enjoys well-being and ease which the other tribes do not enjoy suffers the same fate. When the two sides are equal in numbers and physical strength, the side most habituated to nomad life will bear off the victory.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 265-66.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

This statement receives remarkably detailed corroboration by all the recent travellers in Arabia, *viz.*, Doughty, Palgrave, Burckhardt, Blunt, Raunkjær, Wavell, Bury, and Thomas. Cf. particularly the latter's ARABIA FELIX, pp. 192 and 260.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 290-91.

FIFTH, some reasons why nomads who become sedentary are easily vanquished by nomads who retain the old mode of life are adduced :

. . . the Arabs established in fertile countries and possessed of rich grass pasturage soon find themselves in contact with other peoples, which leads to a mixture of race and of blood . . . They soon mingle with the inhabitants of cities, people who for the most part belong to alien races . . . the family relationships become feeble to the point where the national spirit is lost—the loss of the sole benefit that accrues from the domestic ties. The tribal names themselves finally become extinct, and with their obliteration disappears the last vestige of *esprit de corps*. In the desert, on the contrary, things remain as they were.<sup>52</sup>

SIXTH, the social disorganisation due to sedentary life is described in detail :

A PEOPLE who suddenly find themselves in the midst of ease naturally drift toward all the customs of sedentary life and form sedentary habits promptly . . . When everything connected with domestic economy has been pushed to the last degree of elegance, it means that man has ceased to control his passions, and the habits of luxury communicate to the soul a variety of impressions which prevent any retention of religious belief and even destroy its happiness in this world . . . the degree of this civilisation varies with the density of the population : the greater the population, the more complete the civilisation.

[In these cities one sees] men boldly give themselves over to falsehood, to deceit, to knavery, to theft, to perjury, and to fraud in the sale of their merchandise. Noticeable also is their great habit of satisfying their passions and of tasting all the pleasures that luxury has introduced—that luxury which has rendered them familiar with vice and immorality in all its forms . . . The city abounds with an infamous population, with a crowd of men with vile inclinations, who have as their rivals in turpitude the younger generation of the most illustrious families . . .

THIS is the manner in which demoralisation comes to pass : when individuals are no longer able to get the wherewithal to provide for their needs, or rather, to satisfy the numerous habits which they have acquired, but nevertheless still long for pleasure with the same mental persistence, their affairs become disordered, and when this occurs to a great many individuals in the city, everything becomes disorganised and falls in ruin . . . The city in which many orange-trees are planted has by virtue of that planting received warning of its impending downfall !<sup>53</sup>

SEVENTH, the assertion is made that the empires established by the nomads show a cycle—a rise to power and then collapse—and this cycle is described in all its stages :

EVERY empire passes through several phases, and its condition is subject to various disturbing factors. The changes thus produced influence the characters of those who maintain the empire, and produce in them sentiments of which they do not know the source. Indeed, the character of a people depends, in the nature of things, upon the kind of situation in which they

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

Cf. the writer's article "Pastoral Nomadism and Social Change," *SOCIOLOGY AND SOC. RESEARCH*, XV., 5 (May-June, 1931) pp. 417-27.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, II., pp. 300-304. Cf. Wiese-Becker, *SYSTEMATIC SOCIOLOGY*, "Demoralization" (use index).

live. The phases or changes which have taken place in the condition of empires can usually be reduced to five. In the first, the tribe has obtained everything it desired, it has resisted attacks, repulsed its enemies, conquered a domain, and snatched supreme power from the dynasty reigning there. While this phase endures, the sovereign shares authority with the members of the tribe: he holds power in association with them, and works with them in order to levy taxes and protect the territory of the empire. He does not grant himself any special privileges, because the *esprit de corps* which was responsible for the victory of the people and which is still powerful compels him to hide his ambition. In the second phase, the ruler usurps all authority, he deprives the people of every vestige of sovereignty, and repulses the attempts of those who wish to share power with him . . . The third phase is a period of idleness and repose. The sovereign now enjoys the fruits of his efforts: he is master of the empire, and he can give himself over to the passion which drives men toward the search for wealth, which makes them want to leave behind them monuments to their existence and to their great renown . . . The fourth phase is a period of contentment and of repose. The sovereign shows himself satisfied with the glory that his predecessors have transmitted to him; he lives in peace with princes capable of equaling or rivaling him in power; he imitates the conduct of his predecessors with scrupulous attention . . . The fifth phase opens with waste and prodigality. The sovereign expends in feasts and pleasures the wealth amassed by his forerunners; he distributes a portion to his courtiers as "honoraria," and uses the rest in maintaining the splendour of his receptions and in surrounding himself with false and intriguing friends . . . In this manner he destroys the edifice erected by his forefathers. During this last phase, the empire falls into decadence and succumbs to the attacks of a malady which admits of no remedy.<sup>54</sup>

SURELY these selections offer a richer series of sociological generalisations than can be found in all European writings after Strabo and before Turgot! Without any attempt to exhaust the list, let us see what some of the most important are: (1) pastoral pursuits and nomadism frequently appear in conjunction; (2) the pastoral nomads are characterised by abstemiousness, discipline, fighting ability, bravery, and ferocity; (3) city dwellers (in North Africa at least) are inclined to softness and docility; (4) pastoral nomads show a high degree of group integration as compared with the disunion of city dwellers, for such nomadic groups are in-groups consolidated by conflict, whereas each city-dweller pursues his own individual interest in opposition to the welfare of the whole; (5) nomads lose their distinctive characteristics when they conquer tillage peoples and become sedentary, consequently they are themselves ultimately vanquished by other groups which have not abandoned pastoral nomadism; (6) the social disorganisation resulting from contact with city culture and the consequent break-up of their isolated sacred society is a major reason for the defeat of nomads who have become sedentary; (7) the high degree of stimulation due to city life results in the disintegration of the central character-attitudes—the fundamental urges lose their social conditioning and assume an almost wholly biological character; (8) density of

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, I., pp. 356-59.



population makes the division of labour possible, and this in turn makes possible a highly complex culture; (9) individuation, or the failure of social standards to function in controlling behavior, is especially manifest in the city; (10) cities fall because of the eventually extreme individuation of their inhabitants; (11) states are founded by conquering nomads with a strong *esprit de corps* and fall because of the eventual individuation of the ruling class attendant upon the luxury of a complex sedentary society.

THESE are but a few of the brilliant generalisations to be found in the PROLEGOMENA; other writers have noted a great many more.<sup>55</sup> For our purposes, however, those above listed are most significant—and significant they certainly are, whether true or false.

WHILE the Moslem world was producing men like Ibn Khaldūn, Europe was just beginning to break away from the bonds of the isolated sacred society, was just reaching out into the new secular world that intrusive factors like the Crusades, the Black Death, the Commercial Revolution, the fall of Constantinople, the invention of printing, and the Age of Discovery had begun to bring into being. Unrest was rife; men were searching for outlets denied them because of the persisting influence of "The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries."

THE Renaissance and the Reformation are the labels commonly applied to different aspects of the general upheaval subsequent to the intrusion of the various factors above mentioned; a great deal has been written about the liberating influence of these two movements, but it has recently been said, in somewhat polemic vein, that they represent a tendency opposed to the secularising process so closely correlated with individual freedom from the isolated sacred society.<sup>56</sup> It may be, however, that the intellectual strife of the period, as Lichtenberger

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Chaldun hat den psychologisch-soziologischen Zusammenhang zwischen dem primären Nomadismus der Wüste und der Expansion der Nomaden zuerst scharfblickend klargelegt; Montesquieu, Herder, Ratzel, W. Schmidt haben dann die Rolle der Nomaden als bewegende und organisierende Kraft der Geschichte betont. Die Wurzel dieser Kraft stecken aber im primären Nomadismus der Wanderhirten" (Fr. Hertz, "Die Wanderungen, etc.," in KÖLNER VIERTELJAHRSSHEFTE FÜR SOZIOLOGIE, Heft VIII, 1, p. 38).

<sup>56</sup> "In the same year that Machiavelli received his commission to write his 'History of Florence' Luther burned the papal bull at Wittenberg and the Protestant Reformation was soon in full swing. A rude shock was given to the great impulse of humanism toward the healthy secularization of historical literature, and the centre of historical interests was again forced back into the rut of theological controversies from which it had been trying to free itself since the days of Augustine and Orosius . . . to quote from Professor Burr, "To the freedom of history there came a sudden check with the great religious reaction we call the Reformation. Once more human affairs sank into insignificance. Less by far than that of the older church did the theology of Luther or Calvin accord reality of worth to human effort! . . . Not only were ecclesiastical matters, dealing with both dogma and organization, deemed the all essential sphere of historical investigation, but also universal history was again regarded as purely a great struggle between God and the Devil. Two new 'Cities of Satan,' however, replaced the pagan 'City' of Augustine and Orosius,—the 'Teufels Nest Zu Rom', and the followers of 'the crazy Monk of Wittenberg', respectively. The struggle was now limited to Christendom, which became a 'house divided against itself'" (Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 224).

points out, was "productive of great thinkers not only in theology but in those scientific and practical interests which increasingly were dominating men's minds. Here was laid the basis for the doctrines of the physiocrats and the mercantilists so important in economic theory of a later period and the origin of the doctrines of sovereignty which from this time on engaged the thinking of political philosophers."<sup>57</sup>

WHATEVER be the outcome of the controversy, it is certain that many brilliant social theorists flourished during the period, among them the author of the *SIX BOOKS OF A COMMONWEALE*, Jean Bodin. He is dealt with here in slight violation of chronological sequence because of the resemblance which some of his doctrines bear to those of Ibn Khaldūn, and also because of the possibility that he may have been influenced by the great Moslem. This possibility arises because of the fact that although Bodin's father was French, his mother, according to a tradition current among his contemporaries, was a Spanish Jewess whose family had sought refuge in France as a result of the Jewish persecutions under Ferdinand and Isabella.<sup>58</sup> The activities of the Provençal Sephardim in translating the classical writers have already been noted; it may well have been that they also brought to the town of Angers, where Bodin was born, some knowledge of the Moslem writers as well. At any rate, the similarity between certain doctrines held by Ibn Khaldūn and Bodin is striking enough to warrant investigation by some curious student of intellectual history.

THE theory of the origin of empire in the conquest of tillage peoples by herdsmen forms a large part of the Berber's contribution; the Frenchman does not mention the nomad-agriculturalist conflict, but he clearly expounds the conflict theory of the rise of the State:

... before there was either city or citizen, or any form of a Commonwealth amongst men, every master of a family was a master in his own house, having the power of life and death over his wife and children, but after that force, violence, ambition, covetousness, and desire of revenge had armed one against another, the issues of wars and combats giving victory unto the one side, made the other to become unto them slaves; . . . Then that full and entire liberty by nature given to every man, to live as himself best please, was altogether taken from the vanquished. So the word of Lord and Servant, Prince and Subject before unknown unto the world, were first brought into use. Yea, Reason and the very light of nature leadeth us to believe very force and violence to have given course and beginning unto Commonwealth . . . Wherein it appeareth Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Cicero have mistaken themselves, in following the error of Herodotus, who saith that the first Kings were chosen for their justice and virtue; and have hereof feigned unto us, I wot not, what heroic and golden worlds; an opinion by me by most certain arguments and testimonies elsewhere refelled.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> J. P. Lichtenberger, *THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THEORY* (New York: Century, 1923), pp. 164-65.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>59</sup> Jean Bodin, *THE SIX BOOKS OF A COMMONWEALE*, transl. by Richard Knolles, (London: Bishop, 1606) pp. 46-47, quoted in Lichtenberger, *loc. cit.*

FURTHER, the cyclical theory set forth by Ibn Khaldūn seems to find an echo in the teaching of Bodin, for in the latter's philosophy of social change he presents a doctrine in striking contrast to the static theories of earlier European writers; indeed, it has quite a modern ring—"Alteration" and "Conversion" sounds strangely like "evolution by adaptation" and "evolution by mutation." The setting in which these terms occur is about as follows:

BODIN points out that however theoretically desirable stability and perfection in government may be, it is practically unattainable. No State, however well established and flourishing, can remain long in a stable condition "by reason of the changes of worldly things, which are so mutable and uncertain."<sup>60</sup> These changes may take place in either or both of two ways, Alteration (slow accumulation) or Conversion (rapid mutation), for Bodin says:

Now I call that a Conversion of a Commonweale, when as the State thereof is altogether changed; as when a Popular estate is changed into a Monarchy; or an Aristocracy into a Democracy; or contrarywise; for as the change of customs, laws, religion or place, it is but a certain kind of Alteration, the State and sovereignty continuing still; which may also to the contrary itself be changed, without any change of religion, or laws, or any other things also, besides them which belong unto sovereignty.<sup>61</sup>

AGAIN, his comments on the influence of "the soil" on personality recall Ibn Khaldūn's remarks on the abstemiousness of the desert shepherds:

. . . men of a fat and fertile soil are most commonly effeminate and cowards: whereas contrarywise a barren country makes men temperate by necessity, and by consequence, careful, vigilant and industrious.<sup>62</sup>

THE fact that the trading town is frequently a "Free City" over which the territorial state has little control is implicitly pointed out by Bodin:

. . . the barrenness of the soil doth not only make men more temperate, apt to labor, and of a more subtile spirit; but also it makes towns more populous: for an enemy affects not a barren country, and the inhabitants living in safety do multiply and are forced to traffic or to labor.<sup>63</sup>

FURTHER, Ibn Khaldūn's statements about city dwellers are partially paralleled by Bodin, although the latter may of course have been influenced in this by the classical writers or Aquinas:

As for the inhabitants upon the sea coast, and of great towns of traffic, all writers have observed, that they are more subtle, politic, and cunning than those that lie far from the sea and from traffic.<sup>64</sup>

LAST of all is a remark that shows how the Age of Discovery and Colonization had already begun to start men thinking about social change and the effects of the expansion of Europe:

THE transportation of colonies works a great difference in men . . .<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 565.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 565.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 564.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 568.

PARAPHRASING Bodin's generalizations, which may be in great need of qualification, but which are none the less of historical interest, we may say : (1) the state in its historical form is often due to conquest ; (2) class distinctions are frequently to be traced to a conqueror-conquered relationship ; (3) the family or kinship bond is prior to any form of political superordination or subordination ; (4) the most stable social structure is but a moving equilibrium maintained by processes of social disorganization and reorganization ; (5) social change may take the form of slow alteration or rapid mutation ; (6) various segments of a culture may change without any appreciable corresponding change in other segments ; (7) agriculturalists are frequently characterized by lack of fighting vigour ; (8) the discipline imposed by scanty natural resources is sometimes advantageous ; (9) trading cities are often so located as to be relatively safe from attack ; (10) city dwellers are more mentally mobile than isolated peoples ; (11) colonization is an important source of personality change.

If the outlet afforded by the Reformation was even partially responsible for the SIX BOOKS OF A COMMONWEALE, perhaps that fratricidal orgy was not without valuable scientific results, whatever one may think of the religious contributions.

ANOTHER outlet, as already noted, was provided by the rediscovery of the writings of the ancients, especially Plato. The Arabs had cared little for his poetic, dialectic method, his flight from a world of flux and change, but he was enthusiastically welcomed in Europe when fleeing Greek scholars brought his writings West and the new printing press scattered them abroad. Ideal commonwealths, pictures of a world where the lion and the lamb lie down together, were fabricated after the pattern of "The Republic," and provided men like More, Bacon, Campanella, and Harrington with slings and arrows for a literary attack on the *status quo*, whether political, ecclesiastical or philosophical. Strangely enough, the attack was measurably successful, but only because it was after all but the surface foam on a current of influences that would have brought about social change if no utopias had ever been written, if Plato and his commentators had flickered out in the vast pyre of the Alexandrian Library.

IN most of the utopias some attention is paid to the problem of preserving these havens for the blessed free from the devastating effects of change. More's Utopia, for example, written in the years 1515 and 1516, shortly after the publication of Amerigo Vespucci's account of his voyages, tells of the cutting of a "deep channel" between the whilom country of Abraxa and the rest of the continent, so that Abraxa became an isolated island ; its name then was changed to Utopia. This channel was dug at the command of the good king Utopus, who,



having moulded his subjects to his will, wished them forever to remain in his image, as it were. Strangers who brought useful arts were welcomed, but were carefully "cared for" in order that they might not infect the natives with the itch for innovation. Further, means were taken to control the movements of the natives themselves, evidently in order to prevent any release of tendencies that might be thwarted and seeking an outlet, as the following lines plainly show :

If any man has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the . . . local authorities when there is no particular occasion for him at home : *such as travel, carry with them a passport from the Prince, which both certifies the license that is granted for travelling and limits the time of their return . . .* If they stay in any place longer than a night, everyone follows his proper occupation . . . but if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, *he is severely treated, he is punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully ; and if he falls again into like fault, is condemned to slavery.* If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it, *with his father's permission and his wife's consent ;* but when he comes into any of the country houses, . . . he must labor with them and conform to their rules : and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct ; being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labor. *There are no taverns, no alehouses nor stews among them ; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties : . . .*<sup>48</sup>

APPARENTLY More has some insight into the processes of social change, for he permits movement only when *no release* from the most rigid social control is involved. No individuation, no release of biological tendencies or temperamental attitudes, no opportunities for crowd-forming, no milling about, no interstimulation—in short, no mental mobility if More can prevent it !

FRANCIS BACON'S NEW ATLANTIS was published more than a century later than UTOPIA—in 1629, three years after Bacon's death, to be exact—and although incomplete, still lets us see that Bacon's interest was not political, as was More's, but scientific. He longed for an ideal country where experimental science, zealously pursued, would at last give men dominion over things, "for nature is governed only by obeying her." In his thought-kingdom, science is made the civilizer that binds man to man. Nevertheless, he was solicitous lest the ways of a harsh world corrupt his ideal, and took measures to prevent change and at the same time introduced new "light" from abroad ! In speaking of the foundation of the Atlantidean regime by the good King Salomana, he says :

THIS King . . . therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was, to maintain itself without any aid at all of the

<sup>48</sup> Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, in IDEAL COMMONWEALTHS (New York : Colonial Press, 1901), pp. 49-50, italics ours.

foreigner . . . and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing state wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; thought nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only (as far as human foresight might reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established, therefore among his other fundamental laws . . . he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching the entrance of strangers, . . . doubting novelty and commixture of manners . . . this restraint of ours hath only one exception, which is admirable; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt . . .

WHEN the king had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he nevertheless made this ordinance; that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships, appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Saloman's House [an institute for research], whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments and patterns in every kind . . . thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, . . . of the growth of all parts of the world.<sup>67</sup>

EVIDENTLY Bacon wanted to eat his cake and have it too—wanted to have the technical, scientific and other benefits of culture contact without the changes in mores and institutions such contact engenders. Wary of "commixture of manners," he yet fancied that the material culture of a people could change and still leave the cherished precepts and laws of good King Salomana with as much effectiveness as ever. Had he read Cicero as carefully as he read Plato and Aristotle, he would have perceived that even when people "do not desert their native country in person, their minds are always expatiating and voyaging round the world."<sup>68</sup> Mental mobility apparently may be the result of indirect culture contact, and does not necessarily involve movement on the part of the person acquiring mental mobility; there may be "vicarious" population movement and culture contact.

BACON was also responsible for the reissue of the proverb *Magna civitas magna solitudo*, "a great city, a great desert;" his comment, too, is enlightening—"because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighborhoods."<sup>69</sup> In other words, he said that (1) social isolation may be concomitant with the extreme vicinal accessibility of the city; and that (2) the more intimate relationships of the community or primary group are likely to be wanting in the city.

<sup>67</sup> Francis Bacon, *NEW ATLANTIS*, in *IDEAL COMMONWEALTHS*, pp. 117-120.

<sup>68</sup> Cicero, *loc. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> Francis Bacon, *ESSAYS*, "Of Friendship."

A FEW suggestive passages come to us from James Harrington, the author of the detailed and prolix utopia, *OCEANA*, published in 1656 during the time of the Commonwealth. When the Restoration put an end to the Cromwellian regime, Harrington was thrown in jail, where he suffered from scurvy, and at last became insane. When he had been made a complete wreck in body and mind, his gracious Majesty restored Harrington to his family. He still had the urge to write as strongly as ever, and composed a long treatise proving that "they were themselves mad who thought him so." But mad or not, only one short passage from *OCEANA*, paraphrasing Machiavelli, seems relevant here :

LACEDÆMON, being governed by a King and a small Senate, could maintain itself a long time in that condition, because the inhabitants, being few, having put a bar upon the reception of strangers, and living in a strict observation of the laws of Lycurgus, . . . might well continue long in tranquillity. For . . . not receiving strangers into their commonwealth, they did not corrupt it.<sup>70</sup>

It should be plain from this and other quotations on the "stranger" theme that the influence of the Greek writers has been widespread, and that certain generalizations concerning movement, culture contact, and mental mobility have been commonplaces for centuries. In almost every instance, however, the "corrupting" effect of culture contact, of "commixture of manners," engaged the exclusive attention of the Greeks and their Epigoni. Isolation, quiescence, stability, and rigidity were the ideal characteristics of any community.

In England, however, at least one dissenting voice seems to have been raised ; Bernard de Mandeville, in his famous *FABLE OF THE BEES*, pointed out that, whether desirable or not, "commixture of manners" was going on in large cities like London, and that certain inevitable consequences were flowing therefrom. It is impossible even to hint at the wealth of penetrating insights to be found in this work ; here only one quotation bearing on the relation of status-striving to a high rate of change in contacts can be given :

. . . the World has long since decided the Matter ; handsome Apparel is a main point, fine Feathers make fine Birds, and People, *where they are not known*, are generally honour'd according to their Clothes and other Accoutrements they have about them ; from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth, and by their ordering of them we guess at their Understanding. It is this which encourages every Body, who is conscious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able, to wear Clothes above his Rank, *especially in large and populous Cities, where obscure Men may hourly meet with fifty Strangers to one Acquaintance*, and consequently have the Pleasure of being esteem'd by a vast Majority, not as what they are, but they appear to be : which is a greater Temptation than most People want to be in vain.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> James Harrington, *Oceana*, in *IDEAL COMMONWEALTHS*, p. 316.

<sup>71</sup> Bernard Mandeville, *THE FABLE OF THE BEES : OR PRIVATE VICES, PUBLIC BENEFITS*, with a Commentary, Critical, Historical and Explanatory by F. B. Kaye (Oxford, Clarendon, 1924), (first volume appeared in 1714) I., 127-28, italics ours.

REFORMULATED, this runs as follows: (1) contacts in the large city are superficial, and "front" is necessary for the maintenance of social status; (2) "front" may become an end in itself, dissociated from the earlier life-organization, thus contributing to mental mobility.

MANDEVILLE'S writings were perhaps a bit too consciously bizarre, however, to exert lasting influence, although during his lifetime they had great vogue. Not until David Hume, a Scottish *philosophe*, appeared with his serene yet explosive writings was there apparent any serious break with the ideal of the isolated sacred society. Why? Because the writers of the Renaissance, who continued to serve as models, were after all inclined to apotheosize the classical notions concerning the desirability of fixity, and the Reformers, whose influence was still almost at its zenith, were quite sure that they wanted a static, changeless social order—after they had once established *their* ideal communion of the faithful and subservient.



## NOTES ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: II. STEP-PARENTHOOD AND DELINQUENCY: by M. Fortes, Ph.D.

**INTRODUCTION.** In a previous note<sup>1</sup> I examined the age incidence of juvenile delinquents, and was led to the conclusion that it could not be explained by assuming a factor of emotional instability as the inevitable accompaniment of early adolescence. I suggested that it became intelligible if it was considered as a psychological reaction to a changing constellation of social duties and expectations. However, all boys undergoing this transition to a new social-psychological rôle do not become delinquent. There must be additional factors of selection. I have investigated one possible factor of selection, the child's position in its sibship, in another paper<sup>2</sup>; the present note is concerned with another factor in what may be called the child's domestic environment.

**JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ABNORMAL FAMILY CONDITIONS.** A very considerable body of evidence exists which indicates that juvenile delinquency is closely associated with abnormal family conditions. Since Breckinridge and Abbott<sup>3</sup> first investigated this problem on a large scale in Chicago, many other workers<sup>4</sup> have given attention to it.

Healy and Bronner<sup>5</sup>, for example, found the following frequencies of abnormal parental conditions among their delinquents. In 27 per cent. of their cases, one parent was dead; both parents were dead in 4 per cent. of their cases; the parents were separated in 15 per cent. of the cases; 2 per cent. of the children were illegitimate; and an average of 16 per cent. had step-parents.

Slawson,<sup>6</sup> a more recent American investigator, compared delinquent and non-delinquent boys and arrived at the following figures: Among the delinquents about 32 per cent. had lost one parent, and 3 per cent. both parents, whereas the non-delinquent children manifested those conditions in only 15 per cent. and 0.7 per cent. of cases respectively. Male step-parents were found in 9.1 per cent. of cases and female in 9.6 per cent. among the delinquents, while not more than 5.8 per cent. of step-parents of both sexes were found among the non-delinquents.

Burt's<sup>7</sup> are the only figures available for a London sample of delinquents. He states that nearly 60 per cent. of his delinquent group

<sup>1</sup>This Journal.

<sup>2</sup>"Position in sibship and juvenile delinquency," appearing shortly in *ECONOMICA*.

<sup>3</sup>S. P. Breckinridge and G. Abbott, *THE DELINQUENT CHILD AND THE HOME*. 1912.

<sup>4</sup>To cite one recent investigation at random, Bridges, "A Study of a Group of delinquent Girls," *PED. SEM.* 34, 1927, 188-204, found that 70 per cent. of the group came from "broken" homes.

<sup>5</sup>W. Healy and A. Bronner, *DELINQUENTS AND CRIMINALS, THEIR MAKING AND UNMAKING*, 1926, pp. 122 and 262.

<sup>6</sup>J. Slawson, *THE DELINQUENT BOY*, 1926, pp. 354, 382.

<sup>7</sup>C. Burt, *THE YOUNG DELINQUENT*, pp. 64-5, 93-9. This study extended over the decade which included the Great War.

suffered from defective family relationships. Unfortunately, his figures appear to have been influenced by war time conditions. Active Service may have had something to do with so high an incidence as 15 per cent. of absent fathers. His figures for step-parenthood are as follows: Among delinquent boys, 7.3 per cent. had step-fathers, 12.2 per cent. had step-mothers, and 6.5 per cent. were illegitimate; among the girls the percentages were respectively 14.9, 17.6 and 9.5; and for the whole group they were 10.1, 15.2, and 7.6. On the other hand, among his non-delinquents he found these conditions in 5.5, 2.2, and 0.7 percent. of cases respectively. Presumably his figures for step-fathers, step-mothers, and illegitimacy are not mutually exclusive; but he does not indicate the amount of overlap. On the face of it 25 per cent. of his cases had step-parents, if we assume that most of the illegitimate children were also counted among the step-children; if, however, the illegitimate children form an entirely separate category from the step-children, the total of children having step-parents (for illegitimate children with fathers are *ipso facto* step-children as well, unless the mother marries the child's physiological father) may be as high as 33 per cent.

FAMILIAL CONDITIONS OF DELINQUENTS IN EAST LONDON. In the course of a study of juvenile delinquency<sup>8</sup> in East London, I had occasion to extract from probation officers' records data about the family conditions of 870 young delinquents of both sexes charged between January, 1926, and December, 1930. This sample of cases is socially and territorially fairly homogeneous, as they all belong to more or less the same social stratum, and come from a circumscribed area. The records proved to be very unreliable in regard to most aspects of the child's family background, other than its parentage and sibship. A number of records had indeed to be discarded, leaving a total of 762 cases from which data of some sort was available. I found a defective parental situation (*i.e.*, one or both parents being dead, absent, or ill, mothers working, or the child living with foster parents) recorded in 20 per cent. of the 762 cases. (I shall hereafter refer to these cases as the restricted sample). When step-parenthood, illegitimacy, and the possession of step-siblings are also taken into reckoning the proportion of defective family situations rises to 33 per cent. in the restricted sample. Even allowing for the imperfections in the records used by me, this figure is so much lower than the 60 per cent. found by Burt for similar familial conditions, that it may not be unwarranted to infer that my records represent a more normal population than his war time and post war sample. A striking feature of my data is that in 35 per cent., or more than a third, of the cases with defective parental situations—*i.e.*, the 20 per cent. of cases referred to above (exclusive of step-parenthood, &c.) two or more socio-pathic conditions are found

<sup>8</sup>See my previous Note in this Journal.

together. This figure goes up to 42 per cent. when step-parenthood, &c., are also counted. Evidently in a very considerable number of delinquents' homes with defective family situations, the home is socially maladjusted in more ways than one. For example, a home in which the father is absent or ill will often also have the mother working.

**STEP-PARENTHOOD AND ALLIED CONDITIONS.** The factor of step-parenthood among delinquent homes is of particular interest, in view of the psychological consequences which have been ascribed to the influence of step-parents.\*

THE probation officers appear to have laid special emphasis on this factor in their records, hence the information is fuller and more reliable than that concerning other familial conditions. If all the cases with one step-parent, two step-parents, or true parents but one or more step or half siblings are grouped together, they constitute 15 per cent. of the above-mentioned sample of 762 cases. The addition of illegitimate cases who appear to be living with one or both of their physiological parents raises the proportion to 16 per cent.; and if the cases living with relatives or foster parents other than their own parents or step-parents are added, the incidence becomes about 19 per cent. These figures are substantially lower than those given by Burt for the combined incidence of step-fathers and step-mothers in his delinquent population, and presumably reflect the more normal conditions prevailing to-day. Illegitimate children, including those with step or foster parents, comprise about 3 per cent. of my sample; but this may be an underestimate since it is more difficult to ascertain whether a child is illegitimate or not than whether it has a step-parent.

COMPARABLE data for the general population are not available but the following are of interest as some sort of check on my figures for delinquents.

AMONG a series of 231 cases treated for behaviour disorders at the East London Child Guidance Clinic (which draws its cases from roughly the same area as that from which my delinquent population comes, and from much the same social stratum), I found 6 per cent. of children with step-parents or step-siblings. The clinic cases, however, averaged only 9 years of age, hence the chances of their true parents being alive are much greater than for the delinquent group averaging 13 years.

ANOTHER comparison I have made is with a group of 170 elementary schoolboys, aged 11—14 years, and randomly selected from schools in the same area as that from which the delinquents are recruited. This is admittedly a very small sample of the general population of

\*Cf., in addition to Burt, *op. cit.*, and Healy, *THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT*, the monographic studies by Hoenig, "Die Stiefelternfamilie," *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KINDERFORSCHUNG*, 35, 1929, and by Kuhn, "Psychologische Untersuchung über das Stiefmutterproblem," *Beih. no. 45, ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ANGEWANDTE PSYCHOLOGIE*, 1929.

schoolboys, but I believe a typical one. I found that 8.2 per cent. of these boys had step-parents or step-siblings. To make this control fairer, I have calculated the incidence of step-parents and step-siblings among the delinquent boys of 11—14 years. This proves to be 12.6 per cent., or, if those delinquent boys living with foster parents are included, 13.4 per cent. The excess of not less than 4.5 per cent. approximately in the incidence of step-parents and step-siblings among delinquent boys, as compared with non-delinquent schoolboys of the same age, must be regarded as significant; but it is not so enormous as the differences reported by Burt (*op. cit.*) for the occurrence of these conditions among delinquents and non-delinquents respectively. Here, again, it seems probable that my figures represent the more normal state of affairs. A point of interest is that my figures closely resemble those of Slawson, though one cannot lay stress upon what may be mere coincidence, in view of the different racial constitution (mostly Jewish) of Slawson's population, and of the probable variations in social conditions between New York and London.

FURTHER analysis shows that among my selection of delinquents 9.3 per cent. had step-fathers only, 3.3 per cent. step-mothers only, and 2.5 per cent. step-siblings only. The proportion of step-fathers corresponds with that found both by Burt and Slawson; but step-mothers are considerably less numerous among my cases than among theirs. This divergence from Slawson's results may perhaps be due to the differences in social milieu and racial constitution of our subjects mentioned above. But any divergence from Burt's results might *a priori* be expected to occur rather in connection with step-fathers than with step-mothers, since war casualties would, one must assume, tend to increase the proportion of the former (see note 7). I do not think the discrepancy is due to gross errors in my data, which, as I have indicated, seem accurate enough for the present purpose. Can it be that Burt's category of step or foster mothers comprised mainly the latter—i.e., women *in loco matris* not related to their charges through marriage with their fathers?

STEP-PARENTHOOD AND TYPE OF DELINQUENCY. Another question arises here. Is there any relationship between step-parenthood among delinquents and the type of misdemeanour? Taking all the cases with step-parents and step-siblings, together with the illegitimate children apparently having only one parent, I found the following distribution of charges among them: Crimes against property, 72.1 per cent.; Beyond control, 23.8 per cent.; Truancy, sexual, and miscellaneous crimes, 4.1 per cent. These charges are in the proportion of approximately 18:6:1, whereas in the total volume of charges for the main sample<sup>10</sup> the proportions are approximately 18:3.3:1. Thus there appears to be an excess of beyond control

<sup>10</sup>See paper cited in Footnote 1.



charges among this group of cases—children with step-parents, step-siblings, or illegitimate.

THE cases charged with property crimes numbered 88 in this group, and were distributed as follows: 53 had step-fathers, 18 had step-mothers, 19 came from families with step or half siblings (6 of whom also had step-fathers or mothers, and are thus counted twice), and 5 were illegitimate (one having also a step-parent, and thus being counted twice). These are, very roughly, in the proportion of 9 step-fathers: 3 step-mothers: 3 from step-sibling families: 1 illegitimate. This is approximately what one would expect from the percentage incidence of these conditions in the whole sample, except that illegitimacy seems to be under-represented in this category of crime. The suggestion emerges that step-parenthood, the possession of step-siblings, or illegitimacy, are not more closely associated with crimes against property than any of the other factors which may be involved in the causation of such crimes among children living in normal families. The number of cases is too small, and the statistical methods too crude, to allow anything more than such a suggestion to be drawn from the data; but I think it deserves following up.

TURNING next to the "beyond control" charges, we find the following distribution of the specific family conditions in this group of cases: 14 children had step-fathers, 11 had step-mothers, 4 had step-siblings (2 of whom also had step-parents), 11 were illegitimate (9 having step-parents or step-siblings). The proportions here are about 9.3 step-fathers: 7.3 step-mothers: 2.6 with step-siblings: 7.3 illegitimates. Comparing these figures with the percentages previously given (p. 156), we see that the figures for step-fathers and for step-sibling families are exactly what would be expected if these conditions had no special causative influence in "beyond control" charges. But the incidence of step-mothers and of illegitimates is, in each case, more than twice as large as would be expected. Another suggestion therefore emerges—that the presence of a step-mother in the family configuration, and illegitimacy of the child, are specially associated with "beyond control" behaviour. It is particularly interesting to find that the child's sex (in this sample of cases) does not seem to count in respect of the influence of step-mothers, since the children with step-mothers charged with being beyond control number 6 boys and 5 girls. Once more, and above all in regard to this last point, the caution must be entered that the data are inadequate to prove anything. The age of the child may, for example, have something to do with its responses to step-parents; but I was not able to investigate this possibility.

CONCLUSIONS. I will not therefore venture to offer any explanation with claims to reliability, of this apparently harmful effect of step-mothers and of illegitimacy; but some suggestions may be worthy of

consideration. Kuhn, in her study of step-mothers (*op. cit.* p. 39 ff.), comes to the conclusion that they lack certain fundamental bonds with their step children, no matter how conscientious they may be. Partly in consequence of the conventional notion of the "wicked" step-mother, and partly on account of the intrinsic psychological difficulties of the situation, a state of emotional tension often exists between step-mother and step-child, which may explode as anti-social conduct in the latter. My own experience tends to confirm this line of interpretation, which would, I think, make it intelligible why "beyond control" charges occur excessively among children with step-mothers. It is comprehensible that the child's reactions should, under these circumstances, take the form of the tantrums, the intractability, and the neurotic maladjustment which constitute the substance of "being beyond parental control." A purely practical cause of the greater friction between step-mother and step-child than between step-father and step-child, is the mother's more frequent contact with, and closer control over the child.

As regards illegitimacy, the matter is more obscure. Social workers have told me that they can often "spot" an illegitimate child through slight nuances of a derogatory kind in the attitude of either parent towards the child. That attitudes of this sort on the part of the parents are capable of precipitating anti-social conduct in children is vouched for by psychiatric experience with children. It is intelligible, too, why the child should so frequently react to such a situation by a direct or indirect revolt against parental discipline—by being "beyond parental control"—rather than by theft, as my results show illegitimate children to be prone to do.

SUCH findings as these illustrate how delicately balanced is the system of social and psychological forces which generate anti-social (and, by corollary, social) behaviour. They constitute an interlinked hierarchy ranging from the crudest social conditions such as poverty, to the subtlest psychological conditions, such as the attitudes of parents. To disentangle them requires the skilled co-operation of the therapeutic psychologist, the sociologically trained social investigator, and the educationist. This has been well brought out by Prof. Burt in the appendix to *THE YOUNG DELINQUENT* where he pleads for the establishment of co-operative Child Guidance Clinics to cope with the problems of juvenile delinquency.

## TOWARDS AN AGREED BASIS IN SOCIOLOGY: by G. Spiller.

(THE author's principal contention is that the failure to reach an agreed basis in sociology is due first and foremost to the absence of a clean separation and of an accurate and precise definition of the two fundamental factors in human life, the individual factor and the inter-individual factor. (The text will show that there is no question-begging here.) He believes that the basis submitted for consideration is in scrupulous agreement with the outstanding evolutionary, biological, socio-historical, and socio-contemporaneous facts. This basis implies, roughly, that in *homo sapiens* everything above the broadly late-eolithic level in the individuals, peoples, cultures, and societies of different epochs may be said to be due to the specifically human, limitless cumulative, and environmentally conditioned inter-learning (learning-from-one-another) factor, a factor which permits the boundless pooling and the personal and collective utilisation of the contributions of individuals, peoples, and generations and hence an interminable extension and improvement of cultural adjustments. It strictly accords with the evolutionary postulate of man's proximity to the ape genus (par. 14). It accounts at the same time for man's potentially infinite remoteness from the animal world as such (par. 16). It tallies with the evolutionary truth that species remain for long ages unchanged mentally as physically (par. 8, end). It is in harmony with general biology which knows only of exceedingly modest (innate) mental differences between nearly related species and between members of the same species (par. 6). It shows wherein human society differs fundamentally from animal societies (pars. 4 and 17a). And, on the distinctively sociological plane, it most especially signifies that the limitless super-eolithic developments in individual status and in cultures and societies—socio-historically and socio-contemporaneously considered—are nowise explicable by innate individual differences (pars. 7 to 14); that the sole and manifestly sufficient cause accounting for these developments is the above-defined inter-learning factor progressively enabling men to develop their own broadly late-eolithic innate mental powers—and thereby their cultures and societies—within incalculably wide limits (pars. 16 to 20); and that hence the subject matter of sociology is not a congeries of stationary or capriciously changing societies, but a human world—consisting primarily of human beings, a human society, and a human culture—which, despite mountainous obstacles (par. 16a (b)), tends to evolve in the course of countless centuries from a quasi-brutish to a quasi-ideal state (pars. 4 and 19), from a state barely satisfying the most elementary human needs (par. 23) to one ranging almost infinitely above this. *In sum, in the inter-learning factor, duly defined, we have the incontrovertible basis required by sociology.*)

1. SOCIOLOGY has been not inappropriately defined as the science of human interrelations.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the object of a science of sociology may be said to be to offer a comprehensive and connected explanation of human interrelations and to furnish, by implication, a foundation for the specialised social sciences and for social reform.
2. IF we grant the above, it is manifestly incumbent on us to draw a sharp line between what individuals may legitimately ascribe to themselves and what they directly and indirectly owe to their fellows. Otherwise we shall not know what is specifically due to human interrelations. To illustrate. It might be that, after a painstaking examination, we should be compelled to conclude, as many biologists and eugenists have concluded, that mentally individuals differ as widely *by nature* as they differ factually—all the way from boors almost entirely devoid of super-animal intelligence and aspirations to an Einstein or a Marcus Aurelius, and that this holds also of races, peoples, classes, the sexes, and times. Individual attainments and achievements being thus supposed to be well-nigh solely determined

<sup>1</sup>Any other definition, including as it must the social element, would serve our purpose equally well.

by innate equipment and urges, the inter-individual and inter-group factors of change and advance would be virtually negligible. (*E.g.*, on this assumption, Shakespeare's plays and Raphael's pictures would be for all intents a wholly personal product.) Here there would be practically room only for the recording historian. On the other hand, it might be that on investigation we should find that everything above the extremely low eolithic mental level in the individuals, sexes, classes, peoples, and races of different times is the effect of a limitlessly cumulative interrelational cause controlled by the environment. In this case the inter-individual and inter-group factors would prove to be of exclusive importance for explaining the super-eolithic attainments and achievements of individuals. (*E.g.*, on this assumption, Shakespeare's plays and Raphael's pictures would be for all intents an impersonal, socio-historical product.) Here there would be the amplest scope for the interpreting sociologist. And there are innumerable intermediate stages conceivable between these two extremes, many of them represented in current thought. Hence until sociologists have become acutely aware of the crucial import of the problem here discussed and have ascertained unequivocally the precise nature and scope (including the range of variability) of the individual factor, a sociology having a scientific or agreed basis will be plainly out of the question.

2a. HISTORICALLY, the fatal omission to isolate the individual factor has been justified on two grounds more particularly. The one is the alleged impossibility of discounting the social acquisitions in any given individual. And yet the indirect method of approach, frequently resorted to in scientific enquiries (and applied in pars. 6 to 13), was available, but unfortunately overlooked. The other is the individual's obviously immense inferiority to his society as a whole. Here it was forgotten that as a rule it is a question of one individual against a few others, of many individuals and groups at cross purposes, of adult individuals who have more or less assimilated the common cultural heritage, and of the joint endeavours of individuals, groups, and communities. Indeed, in his own department, a single specialist may be superior to all his contemporaries combined. (See also par. 14a (a) and (b).)

3. FURTHERMORE, since there has been thus far no considered attempt made to discover the precise nature and scope of the individual factor, it follows that the precise nature and scope of the social or inter-relational factor(s) which should account for the existence of human interrelations and their range, have also been left undetermined.

4. IN the latter connection it should be observed that the very term "society" has led to serious misapprehensions and because of this to an erroneous conception of the social factor(s).<sup>2</sup> That term suggests that human societies are merely a somewhat higher type of animal societies, when, as a matter of fact, they differ *fundamentally* from the latter. Thus mentally, through traditions and otherwise, mankind forms a single, interconnected group from eolithic times to the present day, and if we take into account, for example, the Universal Postal

<sup>2</sup>See pp. 188-189 of the author's *THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF MAN* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1931, royal octavo, 400 pages, cheap edition, 1933, 7s. 6d., postage 9d.)



Union, it also practically forms, as it has always tended to form, a single, interconnected group geographically. Again, human societies differ indefinitely in complexity both geographically and historically, whilst intellectually and morally human beings differ among themselves limitlessly and are (as we shall see in pars. 8 to 10) all alike educable to a virtually unlimited extent. And, lastly, human history registers an incalculably great progressive development—*e.g.*, from eoliths to (say) Diesel engines and ultra-microscopes; from animal cries and calls to rich languages, writing, printing, and broadcasting; from unreflectiveness to all-embracing reflective thought; from rock shelters, nakedness, cold, and darkness to modern palaces, spacious wardrobes, and electric heating and lighting; from a four to a four hundred miles' hourly rate of locomotion and from neighbourhood to world tours; from bodily energy to steam and electricity; from parental slaps, local supplies, licking a wound, private vengeance, and tramping to post-graduate training, world commerce, antiseptic surgery, international law, and air-liners; from numberless independent hordes to an all but universal League of Nations; from a negligible to a colossal mental range among human beings; and from the merest rudiments to a vertiginously high degree of self-control, sociality, knowledge, and art. The societies of any given animal species, on the contrary, are for all intents only germinally connected with the generations preceding them, and not at all with kindred living groups. They do not vary in complexity either in space or in time. Intellectually and morally, their members (if we disregard here sub-divisions, as among ants and bees) virtually do not differ among themselves at all and are (as we shall see in par. 17a) all alike only educable to a virtually infinitesimal extent. And their history does not involve *any* noticeable change or progressive development—*e.g.*, the one or two non-organismal tools used, where any, are *always* unfashioned and *never* improved; the cries and calls, the unreflectiveness, the primitive shelters, nakedness, cold, and darkness *never* develop into anything higher; and the rate and compass of locomotion, the available energy, the modes of educating, supplying, healing, avenging, and travel, the societal organisation, the range of mental differences among their members, as well as the degree of self-control, sociality, knowledge, and art, remain *ever* the same. In a word, the animal sociologist, in describing one ant hill, for instance, has virtually described all past and present ant hills of a given species,<sup>3</sup> whereas the human sociologist, in describing only one

<sup>3</sup>"He who has examined a nest of the red ant, has seen all the nests of this species of ant. All the nests, in fact, resemble one another closely. They are organised according to the same plan and present the same appearance. This is true of all other species of animals. A bee-hive is arranged everywhere according to an identical scheme. A village of beavers has everywhere the same aspect and the same character." (J. C. Houzeau, *ETUDE SUR LES FACULTÉS MENTALES DES ANIMAUX*, Mons, 1872, vol. 2, p. 502.) For further illustrations of the same general fact, see the present author's work quoted, pp. 84-87.

human group of a particular place and time, would fail abjectly in his task, because human groups differ stupendously (as illustrated, for instance, by the enormous cultural and societal changes and developments in the British Isles from 1933 B.C. to 1933 A.D. and by the colossal differences between human societies to-day). Hence what the sociologist requires to know first and foremost (and without which he is helplessly adrift) is by what distinctively human virtue the individual factor, or alternatively (say) the interrelational factor, in man produces a society whose fundamental character it is that it very gradually develops (save for environmentally conditioned local arrests and regressions) from something resembling the ordinary animal stage to stages which are almost infinitely above it. In short, to prove that man is a societal being, in no way solves *the fundamental sociological problem, namely why man alone of all given societal species changes and progresses and this to an almost infinite extent.*

5. THERE can be therefore no hope of a science of sociology until the precise nature and scope of the two factors, the individual and the inter-individual, have been unmistakably ascertained.

6. To come to grips with the first problem. What is the nature and scope of the individual factor? From the evolutionary viewpoint we are practically bound to suppose that *innately* man's intelligence is only moderately advanced beyond that of the nearly related anthropoids. Seen from this angle, men's gigantic super-animal achievements (as outlined in par. 4) would be primarily due to some supplementary factor. Indeed, assuming the evolution theory, the idea of the existence of self-made Platos or Newtons, or even of self-made average educated men, is wildly opposed to the general findings of biology which knows only of modest mental differences between nearly related species and between members of the same species. (Closely allied animal species and members of a given animal species may differ in mental status as 1 to 3, say, and man and his near animal relatives and members of the human species as, say, 1 to 30,000,000! (par. 17a)). Manifestly, the prodigious differences between human beings, if congenital, could only be reconciled with the evolution theory by studiously ignoring its fundamental teachings. Hence we ought to assume, at least provisionally, that human beings are by birth what the evolution theory evidently presupposes and that some new factor, *itself the outcome of the ordinary process of evolution*, explains all distinctively super-animal achievements in men. If this view could be shown to be tenable, we should be at once true to evolutionary biology and, as we shall now see, to the facts of social life and of history.

7. EXTRAVAGANT and even fantastic as such a conception of human nature may appear to those who quite unsuspectingly confound borrowed with innate mental capacity, the most general phenomena

of human life seem startlingly to confirm it. To begin with, anthropology teaches that earliest man was barely eolithic, which strikingly accords with what we should anticipate on evolutionary grounds. However, it may be justly contended that our concern can only be with *homo sapiens* (with whom alone we are dealing in this paper), a much later product of evolution. Now Cro-Magnon man, anthropologists (and also some leading eugenists) agree, belonged to the same species as modern man and, according to them, was innately as advanced mentally as the latter. And yet, significantly enough, Cro-Magnon man's earliest known culture ranks far below that of the present-day Australian tribes. His individual representatives, we infer from archaeological evidence, *could at best only inconsiderably improve a middle paleolithic artifact or idea, etc., in a life-time*. What is more, allowing for the fact that they profited by a not inappreciable cultural heritage, we may fairly conclude that *BY NATURE the individual members of the sapiens species can at best only inconsiderably improve the equivalent of a broadly late-eolithic artifact or idea, etc., in a life-time*. Accordingly, there seems adequate reason for maintaining, subject naturally to further evidence being produced, that everything super-eolithic in the modern or ancient *sapiens* individual is a social, and more often a socio- or specio-historical, product.

8. NOR have we to rely exclusively on the far past for our evidence that by nature men belong mentally to the broadly late-eolithic stage (or maybe to the early Chellean) and that all notable mental differences between them are socially engendered. Thus, whilst the actual differences in mental status between average Australian aboriginals and the average educated members of the most advanced civilisations are admittedly tremendous, we read in an official school report: "Age for age and opportunity for opportunity, the attainments and mental powers of these [Australian aboriginal] children are equal to the average white children." (New South Wales, REPORT . . . FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ABORIGINES FOR 1909, p. 398.) In other words, amazing as it may seem, innately there appears to be no noticeable difference mentally (*i.e.*, in intelligence, inclinations, and character traits) between Australian aboriginals and Westerners. Since, moreover, no uneuropeanised Australian aboriginal rises above the extremely low culture of his race (*e.g.*, apparently *not one* such aboriginal can count up to ten or invent for himself post-paleolithic tools), we may tentatively conclude that the European's actual mental superiority and the immense range of mental differences among Europeans are pure and simple cultural products. And this conclusion is greatly strengthened when we read of the children of a culturally even more primitive people, the extinct aboriginal Tasmanians: "'The master [of the school] informs me that with some exceptions these aboriginal children are not inferior in capacity to European children.'"

(H. Ling Roth, *THE ABORIGINES OF TASMANIA*, Halifax, 1899, p. 25.) These two quotations, attesting the full educability of the most primitive peoples, seem to demonstrate that man is a biological species like any other; that he has remained therefore for long ages unchanged in innate mentality; and that not even the most far-reaching physical and socio-historical differences noticeably affect the inborn mental status of peoples.

9. WE may suppose that what holds of the primary school holds of the secondary school and the university, namely that among all peoples similar environmental circumstances lead to similar scholastic attainments at all educational levels. At least, there are no positive reasons for challenging this supposition. Indeed, a Chief Protector of Australian aboriginals wrote (in 1914) to the author in the course of a lengthy communication: "There is no record of any Australian aboriginal having attended a University or similar institution. This is not on account of any lack of intelligence on the part of the aboriginal, but on account of his present low social standing."<sup>4</sup>

10. BUT we can cite additional testimony for the higher possibilities of all peoples. Thus the youth of the three principal races—Caucasian, Mongolian, and African—pass apparently with equal facility through the university, just as the two preceding paragraphs would lead us to surmise.

10a. IN this connection it may be noted that (according to C. S. Johnson, *THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CIVILISATION*, New York, 1930) "there are [in the United States] 19,000 Negro college students and some 2,000 obtain annually the B.A. degree" and that in that country "there are some 4,000 Negro physicians"; also, that virtually all Negro university students in Europe are full-blooded and form no more "exceptions" than their European confrères.

11. FURTHERMORE, however incredible it may seem, all that is characteristic of Occidental, Oriental, and African civilisations appears to represent a purely social product. (Par. 8 already implied this.) This is illustrated by the fact that the children of emigrants acquire with the same ease any civilisation, like any language, offered them. The civilisational peculiarities may relate to *character*—strength and weakness of will, timidity and audacity, communicativeness and reserve, trustworthiness and unreliability, laboriousness and slothfulness; to the *emotions*—altruism and egoism, gentleness and barbarity, love of pleasure and indifference to it, sentimentality and matter-of-factness, excitability and imperturbability; to the *intelligence*—being intellectual and unintellectual, circumspect and slipshod, imaginative and unimaginative, rationalistic and superstitious; and to *art*—

<sup>4</sup>For further evidence, see the author's "The Mentality of the Australian Aborigines," in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, October, 1913; also the *JOURNALS* of two early Australian administrators, Sir George Grey and Edward J. Eyre, who are as emphatic; also, C. T. Loram, *THE EDUCATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE*, 1917.



artistic and unartistic, musical and unmusical, liking and disliking poetry and painting. But in reality no general analysis can even remotely hint at the many remarkable mental differences to be found in peoples.<sup>5</sup> Once sociologists have grasped the point of this paragraph, it will be impossible for them not to proceed a step further and recognise that the numberless super-eolithic mental differences among the individuals forming a given people are also social products. In fact, it is extremely difficult to conceive how national characteristics, varying often even more profoundly than the characteristics of individuals within a people, should be the outcome of social influences and the same or cognate differences in individuals should be innate. What is more, individual aptitudes and capacities of a super-eolithic order vary to such an extent directly with civilisational aptitudes and capacities that the former must be evidently an outcome of the latter. Thus an eolithic or a paleolithic civilisation contains none but eolithically or paleolithically minded individuals. (Par. 13.) Nor should we forget that what holds of peoples and individuals holds, for identical reasons, of classes of society. These are historically very unstable and in early cultural stages do not even exist.<sup>6</sup>

11a. (a) COMPARATIVE psychologists have disproved the notion of marked innate sensory and temperamental differences in peoples. It remains now for comparative educationists to examine systematically the idea of marked innate differences in the educability of peoples. (b) We cannot, of course, enter here into the problem of the mentally defective child or into a discussion of the value and import of currently accepted cerebral weights and volumes. As to the latter, however, note absence of relation between volume of brain cavity and stage of culture (e.g., earliest Aurignacian and present-day Western). (c) As a rule, intelligence tests have been hitherto exceedingly unsatisfactory because there is virtually never a resolute endeavour to allow adequately for the influence of the social factor.

12. THAT the greatest conceivable mental changes in individuals can be wrought *within* a given life-time, has been shown in previous paragraphs, where we found that even the children of the most primitive peoples are fully educable (par. 8) and that, what amounts to the same thing, all children can assimilate any civilisation (par. 11). To this we may now add that more or less profound mental changes occur frequently in adult individuals—as when the general intellectual and emotional attitude of masses of adult individuals of all classes and of many peoples undergoes, as in our time, a far-reaching revolution *within* a given generation (and this as the result of a long succession of new ideas contributed by those of all ages). These three series of convergent facts (limitless educability, civilisability, and mutability)

<sup>5</sup>Of course, not every member of a people closely resembles the type, but the children of those who do so appear in no way to form exceptions. Naturally, the cultural influence of the parents and group prejudice ought to be discounted.

<sup>6</sup>A study of the later life of adopted infants, especially of such as belong to classes and peoples widely differing from those to which the loving foster parents belong, should corroborate or otherwise our hypothesis of the supremacy of the inter-relational factor as regards everything super-eolithic in man. Experiment is here possible and highly desirable.

definitely suggest that the theory that innate changes and progress underlie actual changes and progress is groundless as well as superfluous for explanatory purposes.<sup>7</sup> For further evidence on the subject, see the author's work quoted.

13. LASTLY. In eolithic times men appear to have differed mentally *within* eolithic limits only, the vast super-eolithic range of mental differences between human beings to-day being at that period *entirely* wanting. Similarly with the earliest Aurignacian culture, where the range of actual mental differences between human beings moved *within* its own, that is *within* middle paleolithic, limits. (See also par. 8 as to uneuropeanised Australian aboriginals.) Now these two instances, it will be found, are but random illustrations of the general truth that the super-eolithic mental range among human beings shrinks from virtual infinity to-day to a virtual zero as we retreat to eolithic times (and, proportionately, as we pass from the highest to the lowest cultures extant). From this it follows that the immense super-eolithic range in the mental status of human beings to-day is the latest term of a tremendously long historical development and also, since the youth of all peoples are educationally equals and limitlessly educable (pars. 8 to 10), that this development, and therefore this range, can be in no sense innately determined.

14. SUMMARISING now the first part of our enquiry, it seems not only probable that everything above the broadly late-eolithic stage in the individuals, sexes, peoples, classes, societies, and cultures of the past and present is a social or socio-historical product, but almost impossible to conceive that it should be otherwise. The general facts we have drawn attention to in paragraphs 6 to 13 are in any case wholly incompatible with the widespread notion that individuals, classes, peoples, and ages vary vastly or greatly in innate mental capacity or that any individual is, purely of himself, capable of super-eolithic achievements. The first conclusion we have consequently reached is that *human beings possess an indifferently varying innate mentality of a broadly late-eolithic order*. Whence it follows that *congenitally* men differ mentally within broadly late-eolithic limits only and that *by nature* they are, roughly, just capable of at best inconsiderably improving the equivalent of a broadly late-eolithic artifact or idea, etc., in a life-time.

14a. (a) It should be observed that equalitarianism, in so far as it fails to state the approximate degree of man's innate mental capacity and its range of variability, has no calculable and therefore no scientific value. (b) The individual factor is sometimes regarded as being sociologically of no account. As a matter of fact, however, the development of mankind would immensely vary with the degree of natural ability assumed. Thus if by birth men were all-round saints, scientists, and artists (as some

<sup>7</sup>Kant as a mental mutation, seeing the mediocre mental status of his parents, would be as great a biological monstrosity as an ape whose begetters were pigeons.

have been supposed to be), vice and crime, ignorance and superstition, and low æsthetic standards would be untraceable in man's story, whilst, in the reverse extreme, mankind would never rise above the stage of brutishness. Our actual cultural history assumes definitely natural ability of a broadly late-eolithic order: every degree above or below that would result in a cultural history different from our own. (c) As used in the text, the term "indifferently" has two meanings: first, by comparison with the vastly greater *actual* mental differences between human beings to-day and secondly, in the sense of the innate variations being within broadly late-eolithic bounds only. Moreover, within large limits, inborn deficiencies may be radically neutralised by cultural means. For instance, a note-book frequently equalises unequal native memories, spectacles eyesights, harder or longer study rates of apprehension, methods of invention relative originality, self-control temperaments, prudence and training bodily strength, powder and paint (or acquired charm) native beauty, and so on. (d) With regard to men's innate mental capacity, it must be admitted that it operated under highly adverse conditions in earliest times. However, the exceedingly slow progress made in given classes of inventions to-day (e.g., in the perfecting of the air-plane and the motor car) when the immense, combined resources of mankind are at the disposal of countless would-be inventors, testifies that even in the most favourable circumstances the innate contributions of the individual can only be microscopic.

15. WE have found one of our pair of master factors. What of the other master factor(s) which is to account for men's super-eolithic achievements and for the vast changes and growing differences historically in men, peoples, cultures, and societies? Merely to call it the "cultural" or "social" factor would not profit us in the least, for we should remain in complete ignorance as to its exact nature and mode of operation. (For an outline of the general facts to be explained, see par. 4.)

16. WE saw that evolutionism demands that by nature man should be a quasi-animal placed only moderately higher in mental status than the ape-tribe—let us say, placed mentally as far above the greater apes as these are above the monkeys. However, evolutionism equally insists that the differential factor (or factors) we are in search of shall be of a kind readily explicable along accepted evolutionary lines. Now the greater apes happen to be not only the most intelligent of animals, but seem actually to represent the upper limit of animal intelligence. We gather this from what a study of their mentality irresistibly suggests, namely that a moderate mental advance beyond them would be necessarily reflected in a degree of general intelligence which rendered the members of the new species—man—capable of freely profiting by the experiences and discoveries of their fellows. That is, and here is our second and last main conclusion: instead of being confined, as animals for all intents are (par. 17a), to the exploitation of their individual experience, *human beings possess a degree of innate mental capacity enabling them to learn freely from the experiences, etc., of their whole kind past and present* and thus in principle to supplement almost infinitely their own broadly late-eolithic mental powers. This degree of capacity makes possible the limitless pooling and the personal and collective utilisation of the contributions of individuals, peoples, and generations. It hence fully explains, without the aid of a pseudo-biology (par. 14), why men's mental status, cultures, and societies (in accord with pars. 6 to 14) tend in time to vary limitlessly

in range and also to surpass almost infinitely those of the broadly late-colithic period and of animals generally. Accordingly, the distinctively human, limitlessly cumulative, and environmentally controlled inter-learning factor, duly defined, proves to be pivotal in sociology.

16a. (a) Two consequential evolutionary changes ensued on the one described in the preceding paragraph: (1) the weakening or removal of innately determined modes of action incompatible with learning freely from others' experiences, etc., and (2) the introduction of innately determined modes of action facilitating that process (e.g., the infant's predisposition to learn to speak). *Thus man is by nature fitted for the associative state only. Thus, also, the nativist conception of cultural change and advance fatally conflicts with the new biological principle that mentally the individual shall be limitlessly adaptable—adaptable to any stage of civilisation and to all social situations. Thus, finally, man proves to be culture-dependent and culture, through the limitlessly cumulative inter-learning factor, limitlessly progressive.* (b) Since the inter-learning factor is limitlessly cumulative in its operation, it is only properly expressed by a progressive tendency to limitless inter-individual and inter-group co-operation. Hence, of necessity, all non-co-operative influences, such as the individual and group egoism flourishing more especially in earlier cultural stages, tend in time to become of comparatively trivial importance as social forces. (c) Of course, to the sociologist the *existence*, and not the precise origin, of the inter-learning factor matters. However, it is scarcely conceivable that if a certain very high degree of intelligence were not indispensable, that inter-learning should not have developed in a number of the higher animal species. (d) Amphioxus, amphibia, archeopteryx, echidna, lemurs, and countless other intermediate forms warn us against assuming that learning from others is something *absolutely* new. Still, so far as the cumulative aspect is concerned, the difference between man and animals is practically as one to infinity (pars. 4 and 17a) and the resemblance, therefore, of evolutionary interest only. Also, no cumulative factor exists where, as with certain insects, etc., some external tool is *instinctively* used or there is *instinctive* imitation, co-operation, etc. (e) What we learn from a given individual is directly or indirectly a collective product, plus his own contribution of a broadly late-colithic order. Furthermore, we learn as readily from many as from one, it being apparently mainly a question of remembering and the memory being seemingly almost omniscient. Again, as the higher animals try to, and do, overcome many difficulties, the possibility is given of men adapting and improving what they have learnt from others. Lastly, inter-learning may cover, e.g., from imitating one step to working for a medical degree, from the barest imitation to the most selective inter-learning for a distant end, and, according to circumstances, it may involve the use of all our innate and acquired mental powers. (f) One of the most notable results of limitless inter-learning is the historical tendency of ever wider collaboration among individuals and groups in learning, planning, improving, acting, etc. (g) The convenient term "cultural" may now be freely employed in the definite sense of denoting the inter-learning element. Indeed, in addition to "inter-learning," we may use the term "specio-psychic" which expresses both that men may learn from one another limitlessly and that in favourable circumstances they make minute positive additions to what they have learnt, in this way gradually creating societies, economic and religious systems, sciences, ethical codes, and arts, of a highly developed character.

17. HERE we have therefore the simple, calculable, and environmentally controlled cumulative factor capable of accounting for everything super-colithic in human life and history. This factor is no longer a social or cultural factor in the abstract, but is deeply charged with concrete meaning, learning from *others'* experiences, etc., being as self-explanatory a conception as learning from *one's own*.<sup>8</sup> Nor are

<sup>8</sup>Observe that human beings are only singular in being able to *learn* FROM OTHERS. Observe, too, that unless we posit *inter-learning*, the processes of co-operation, interstimulation, interaction, imitation, learning, etc., and economic, geographical, and similar influences, will not in the least degree explain the existence and boundless growth of human culture, for these processes and influences are also to be found in animal societies which are, *de facto*, cultureless. (See also 16a (e).)



we here concerned with a subtle or rarely encountered force, for we at once recognise therein *the central fact of human life*. The acquisition of a language and of the elements of general culture in the home; the primary and the secondary school conveying the substance of the consolidated chief discoveries and improvements of the human race in every important sphere, not excluding sentiments and character traits; the university passing on the higher learning of mankind; the general practice in business, art, and science of profiting freely by others' contributions; an illimitable variety of customs, traditions, institutions, culture contacts, and books; and even the prevalence of prejudices, selfish aims, and warfare, offer convincing evidence of the paramount influence of the inter-learning factor in the affairs of men. In truth, to the degree that we assume, or discount, the operation of this factor (as proved in pars. 8 to 10), civilisation and man limitlessly rise above, or gradually return to, the broadly late-eolithic stage.

17a. ON the other hand, owing to the inevitable absence of the inter-learning factor in animals, the corresponding central fact in animal life may be said to be exemplified negatively in no animal being able to pass, even distantly, the entrance examination to a *nursery-school*. That is, for all intents no animal can climb as high as the first rung of the infinite inter-learning ladder. Hence, since some human beings may have assimilated the experiences and discoveries of tens of millions of their kind, *the self-evident possibility exists of some men (a Lester Ward) being mentally tens of millions of times superior to any animal and to certain of their fellows (an earliest Aurignacian).*

18. NOT a few thinkers reason that a clear distinction should be made between knowledge and ability. According to them, the first would have mainly a social, the second an individual, source. Consequently, they argue, men may limitlessly learn facts from others, but they are dependent on their inborn ability to achieve anything of measurable account. Nothing could be further from reality than such an assertion. There is a specio-historical evolution of modes of procedure, beginning with the crudest quasi-animal ones and leading gradually to such as are almost infinitely more refined, efficient, and progressive. Here, too, we are concerned with a form of knowledge: with socio-historically discovered ways of compassing certain ends—scientific, artistic, ethical, political, economic, and what not. The man of science and the artist, for instance, have an arsenal of socio-historically discovered modes of procedure placed at their disposal and but for these they would be as unscientific and as unartistic as their remotest ancestors and their lowliest tribal contemporaries.

18a. (a) ON this subject, see the author's fully documented paper on "The Causes of Greatness," in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, July, 1929, reprinted in revised form in the author's *ORIGIN AND NATURE OF MAN*; also his "Charles Darwin and the Theory of Evolution: a Sociological Study," in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, April, 1926; also, on Shakespeare, his *A NEW SYSTEM OF SCIENTIFIC PROCEDURE*; and on the socio-historical process of discovery, *ORIGIN*, pp. 272-282, 366-367. The "genius" theory substitutes fatally facile explanations for the arduous study of complicated socio-historical facts. It also overlooks the elementary truth that almost invariably "men of genius" are responsible for only the last stage in an important discovery; that any advance in a notable direction is by infinitesimal steps, with the actual end wholly unsuspected at first; and that most progressive changes are unconnected with "great men." The "genius" theory, even in its mildest form,

monstrously travesties the facts. (b) Eugenists frequently forget that individual experience counts—that, for example, a cat's habitual timidity or a dog's habitual ferocity may have been provoked by the treatment meted out to it. In men individual experience and learning from others' experience count. On the eugenic theory, see the author's *ORIGIN* and his "Francis Galton on Hereditary Genius," in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, January and April-July, 1932.

19. Now since the inter-learning factor permits the limitless pooling and the personal and collective utilisation of the contributions of individuals, peoples, and generations, it follows that the primary data of sociology (as outlined in par. 4) imply, roughly, a single "great society" tending to develop culturally throughout the whole of human time. (See, however, par. 16a (b).) In fact, probably no non-primitive people exists which does not *greatly* change or advance during every century and *enormously* during every millenium, or does not form part of a far-flung cultural movement (as the countries of Europe from the tenth to the twentieth century). Hence only when our survey is geographically and historically as comprehensive as past and present humanity itself, do we command a sufficiently broad basis for formulating the fundamental sociological laws whereby societies are governed. To study for such a purpose a given society or even civilisation or time is therefore fatally misleading. It suggests that individuals and peoples are virtually unchangeable when, regarded historically and educationally, they are almost limitlessly plastic (par. 16a (a) and pars. 8 to 10), *i.e.*, equally fitted by nature for any cultural stage—from that of the most primitive, brutish horde to that of some future world society where the for us highest conceivable virtues, graces, and abilities will be universally diffused. It further suggests that individual societies are distinct entities or organisms when, historically, they alter, break up, and combine like clouds and, contemporaneously, are often organically connected or semi-dependent. (This fact does not preclude the study of the relative unity and continuity of societies.) Unfortunately, the historical process of limitless cultural and societal development, the explanation of which should form the leading object of sociology, has been as a rule, because of a fragmentary survey, lightly passed over or, alternatively, regarded as registering fitful changes. (Even where this process is fully allowed for, as in Comte and Spencer, no attempt is made to discover its cause or causes.) It is as if biologists only casually reflected on the fact and on the origin of the colossal differences between species, exhibited little interest in the idea of organic evolution, and detected no upward trend in the paleontological record.

20. If space were available, we should analyse in detail what is meant by *learning freely from others*. Here we can only furnish a very incomplete summary. The *form of knowledge* acquired from others, we learn, is normally of a socio-historical, highly compressed, sifted, and synthetic character (as illustrated, for example, by a comprehensive modern map of a country) and is therefore most inadequately represented by the separate fragments discovered or invented by individuals. It is hence inconceivable that at any given point of time individuals should be born specially fitted for acquiring certain current *kinds of knowledge* or vocations (*e.g.*, to be "born

thirteenth or twentieth century physicians, surgeons, oculists, aurists, dentists, laryngologists, lung or heart specialists, alienists, women's or children's specialists), whilst it seems to follow that by nature all human beings are for all intents alike capable of acquiring any and every kind of socio-historically developed knowledge, sentiments, abilities, and character traits. (The "born types" theory, if probed historically and educationally, similarly fails.) Again, the process of learning freely from others is beset with many obstacles (e.g., arising out of the imperfections of the memory and the great complexity of most problems) and these place a limit to the *rapidity of learning and the amount of detailed knowledge assimilable* in a highly developed civilisation such as ours. Finally, a careful examination reveals that we climb mentally as if up the rungs of a ladder, each step representing a step like any other. (For a full statement, see ORIGIN, pp. 116-134.)

21. COMBINING the two main factors, the science of human inter-relations should postulate *that human beings possess an indifferently varying innate mentality of a broadly late-eolithic order and that that mentality includes a degree of general capacity enabling them to learn freely from the experiences, etc., of their whole kind past and present.* This signifies that through being able limitlessly to pool and personally and collectively to utilise the contributions of individuals, peoples, and generations, men can interminably extend and immeasurably improve their cultural adjustments as well as satisfy their nature (par. 22 to 26) ever more fully. With the above double postulate accepted, the sociologist's task of illuminating social phenomena becomes prodigiously simplified, for he is dealing with one fixed and innate and one cumulative and environmentally controlled key factor permitting explanation, prediction, and fruitful theoretical and practical deductions.

22. THAT the inter-learning factor is the only factor relevant to the explanation of what is super-animal or super-eolithic in human beings—and indirectly in their cultures and societies—can no longer be reasonably doubted. But men are not spectral late-eolithic beings. They are flesh and blood and, as the evolution theory implies, they are equipped with a type of mentality practically identical with that of their immediate animal ancestors and their nearest animal relations. They have physical and other inborn needs; they have a number of senses; they have memories and they reason; they have feelings; and they will. The operation of the inter-learning factor does not so much supersede these as provide means for measurelessly developing them and for satisfying them almost infinitely better.

23. MAN'S principal inborn needs are those of the higher animals generally, and most nearly those of the ape-tribe. In man these needs are primarily satisfied by inter-individual and societal endeavours and with the aid of knowledge obtained through the operation of the inter-learning factor. Save for aberrations, human effort through the ages has been mainly concerned with passably, and with more and more fully, satisfying them. A human being requires a continuous supply of relatively *pure air*, giving rise in man to the problems of ventilation and sanitation. He requires *warmth*, which leads to the evolution of clothing and artificial heating generally. He requires *light* in the dark and in dark places, whence the evolution of glass and of illuminants. He requires, of course, *food*, which results in the development of agriculture, frugiculture, fishing, and cookery and the keeping of certain animals for milking, etc. He requires *drink*, which results in the sinking of wells and in water works, aqueducts, and other plant, and the production of artificial drinks. He requires *shelter* from inclement weather and also *sleep, rest, comfort, and conveniences*, which explains nearly the whole history of architecture and furniture. He requires *exercise, cleanliness, sanitary arrangements, and healing*, which leads to the sciences of hygiene, sanitation, and medicine, and also to gymnasia, baths and cleaning establishments, hospitals, asylums, and sanatoria. He requires to use his *senses*, his *unresting mind*, and his *physical energies*, whence numberless provisions for meeting these needs. Inadequately furnished with organismal appliances and energies for his ends, he requires *external appliances and energies*, whence the enormous growth of

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simple and complex appliances and machinery and the utilisation of animal and mechanical energies. He must *maintain* himself and his family, whence vocations of every type, competition, and sometimes lapses from honesty, exploitation, and economic crimes. He requires *recreation* and *aesthetic satisfaction*, whence games and sports, convivial gatherings, clubs, love of nature, wit, the drama, literature, the arts, art objects, jewelry, horticulture, pets, and the cult of the beautiful generally. He seeks to *perpetuate his kind* and (non-innately) *his culture*, whence courtship, marriage, the family, the home (as well as rivalry, jealousy, and profligacy), the love and nurture of the young, teaching establishments, traditions, and records. He needs his *fellows*, whence the social organism, systems of government, laws, defence of countries, customs, manners, morals, writing, printing, post, associations, collective homes and inns, roads and means of transport for land, water, and air, industry and commerce, shops, workers' and employers' unions, social insurance, and benevolent and humanitarian institutions—a need, however, which only gradually tends to exclude individual and group egoism and aid from domesticated animals. He displays *curiosity*, whence follow philosophy, science, history, biography, and travel. He demands being *re-assured*, whence religions, with all they imply. He is averse to *death, injuries, sickness, pain, over-exertion, tedium, and frustrations* and relishes *life, wholeness, health, pleasure, strainlessness, excitement, and satisfactions*, whence the most varied efforts to escape and remove the former and to secure and prolong the latter. He loves *change* and *variety*, whence fashions and endless preferences. (See ORIGIN, pp. 52-53.) As to instincts (which are the servants of needs), see par. 16a (a) and note in any case that, save for the inter-learning factor, they leave man on the broadly late-eolithic and non-progressive plane.

24. MEN's numerous congenital feelings or affective responses, roughly coinciding with those of the higher animals, are limitlessly modifiable by cultural influences and are supplemented in advanced cultural stages by the higher emotions and by sentiments, good and bad, due to the operation of the inter-learning factor.

25. MAN's innate intellectual powers, critically influenced by the inter-learning factor (which also brings language onto the scene), include (like those of the higher animals) the Senses, Attention, Ordinary and Associative Memory, Discrimination and Differentiation, Observation and Examination, Comparison, Reasoning, Hesitancy and Doubt, Curiosity, Generalisation, Learning by Individual Experience, Communicating, and Habit Formation.

26. As to man's innate moral equipment, we must suppose that it is not far different from that of the greater apes and of the monkeys, who are neither particularly vicious nor particularly virtuous. Man's immensely greater malleability, indispensable for learning freely from others (par. 16a (a)), has however to be allowed for. According to social circumstances, this permits him to be both fathomlessly bad and measurelessly good.

27. To sum up. We surmised initially (par. 2) that the absence of an agreed basis in sociology most probably results from the absence of a clean separation and of an accurate and precise definition of the individual factor and the inter-individual factor(s), since without such separation and definition chaos, and therefore disagreement, is unavoidable in sociology. Our object was hence to repair this deficiency. Examining (in pars. 6 to 13) certain of the most general phenomena of human life and history, we reached the conclusion that *human beings possess an indifferently varying innate mentality of a broadly late-eolithic order* (par. 14) enabling them, on the hypothesis of their being entirely unaided culturally from birth onwards, inconsiderably to improve in a life-time the equivalent of a broadly late-eolithic artifact or idea, etc. Here was one very definite factor. We searched next for the complementary factor that should account for the immense super-eolithic domain (par. 4) in individuals, cultures, and societies, the domain which is properly the sole concern of sociology. As a result, we discovered that wholly unlike animals, which can for



all intents only exploit their own individual experience, *human beings possess a degree of innate mental capacity enabling them to learn freely from the experiences, etc., of their whole kind past and present* (par. 16) and thus in principle, with the ages, to raise limitlessly their own status and hence that of their cultures and societies. Assuming, then, these two very definite and for all intents fixed and calculable key factors, and allowing for man's principal inborn needs (par. 23) as also for his inanimate and animate environment (*which four factors constitute the main pillars of sociology*), the sociologist is for the first time in a position to offer a comprehensive explanation of human interrelations—direct and indirect, unorganised and organised, normal (or integrative) and pathological (or disintegrative), intra- and inter-societal, intra- and inter-generational—and to provide a foundation for the specialised social sciences and for social reform. In brief, we may state that *the two central sociological truths are : (a) the tendency (diminishingly retarded by non-cooperative trends) to a very gradual development historically of a human society, a human culture, and of human beings from a quasi-animal stage (the broadly late-eolithic) to stages almost infinitely above it and (b) the explanation of that development and of those stages by means of the distinctively human, limitlessly cumulative, and environmentally controlled inter-learning factor which in principle makes universally available the contributions of all individuals, peoples, and generations.* Thus, as the result of our acting on our initial surmise, chaos turns into cosmos, rendering an agreed basis in sociology possible at last.

28. Now to a few basic conclusions drawn from our two fundamental factors (which have also been shown to be in complete accord with biological and evolutionary teaching). Advancing time, from the advent of our species to the remotest human future, represents the highest conditioning category in sociology and direct and indirect cooperation and education, involving the assimilation, utilisation, conservation, and development of the cultural heritage, the two next highest. Inasmuch as men differ innately within broadly late-eolithic limits only, all super-eolithic achievements of individuals and all super-eolithic differences among individuals, the two sexes, classes, peoples, races, and ages—and therefore among societies and cultures—are primarily socio-historical products. Furthermore, since of necessity the operation of the inter-learning factor leads historically (save for environmentally conditioned and progressively diminishing local adaptations, aberrations, arrests, and regressions) to a limitlessly cumulative growth in super-eolithic developments, it explains why the range of super-eolithic mentalities and cultures gradually and systematically shrinks from a virtual infinity to-day to a virtual zero as we retreat to eolithic or virtually cultureless times and why there are enormous differences in this range among and within existing peoples;\* also, why man invariably lives in societies and why these grow historically ever larger and ever more complex and interrelated. We also infer that the children of all peoples are alike limitlessly educable, civilisable, and mutable and that our adult minds and personalities to-day reflect first and foremost specio-social experience (in the shape of pan-humanly discovered facts, ideas, and ways of responding, thinking, and acting) and only very distantly our animal intelligence and individualities which form their basis. Finally, it follows that

\*It might be argued that the innate mental differences between individuals have always been vast, only that there must be favourable cultural circumstances to evoke them. An intimate study of "great men" lends no support to this ingenious supposition, as shown in the author's paper on "The Causes of Greatness," in the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, July, 1929.

cooperation, societies, education, language, tools, traditions, customs, morality, religion, art, occupations, pastimes, building, communications, science, humour, and certain other leading social, societal, and inter-societal institutions and agencies (par. 23) are bound to evolve and then develop without limit;<sup>10</sup> that at a given point of time a given society represents a specio-cultural stage, modified in minor respects by local circumstances and local activities; that since the cultureless human being is virtually of the mental and moral stature of animals, the benefits derived from inter-learning will be in the earlier (and therefore cruder) cultural stages inevitably abused by many individuals and groups, thus leading to selfish aims, exploitation, oppression, war, vice and crime, and cultural and social inequality, but that these abuses will inevitably tend to be eliminated in time by the development of ever more comprehensive cultural trends making progressively for universal goodwill and solidarity; and that, on the practical plane, a science of methodology and a science of ethical living are bound to develop in the ordinary course of cultural evolution and revolutionise men's intellectual and moral conduct.

29. NEEDLESS to add that once agreement has been reached regarding the precise nature and scope of the two obviously basic factors in sociology—the individual factor and the inter-individual factor, the greater part of the rich and varied labours of modern sociologists will be found to have gained rather than to have lost in value, and equally needless to add that the proposed basis (and nothing beyond a basis is here proposed) only represents a crucial turning-point in the progress of sociological thought.

<sup>10</sup>It is certain that there has been gigantic cultural progress (par. 4); that this progress is not due to any one people, race, or age; that (as implied in pars. 8 to 13) environmental conditions alone account for the divergent rates of progress of different peoples, etc.; and that progress is both inevitable and limitless (pars. 16a (b)). (See the author's *ORIGIN*, chs. 9 and 9a.) (Note that the fear of jeopardising the results of past progress tends to block further progress and that group pre-eminence is ephemeral; also, allow for purely local adaptations, error-bred developments, etc.)

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF FARM WORKERS IN NORTH NORTHUMBERLAND:

Farming, Labour Differentiation and the Hiring System:  
by R. Henderson, B.Sc.

THE area of Northumberland in which the material for this study was collected, is bordered by the river Tweed to the north, the sea coast to the east, the Cheviot Hills to the west and the river Coquet to the south. Within this area there is little disturbance of agriculture as an industry, and as a basis of employment for the population. With the exception of two small collieries, a few stone quarries and one or two fishing villages, there is little else to provide occupation for the work people. The district concerned is, therefore, mainly agricultural.

NORTHUMBERLAND has the largest average size of "agricultural holdings" of any county in England and Wales. In the northern area the typical farm ranges between 300 and 600 acres, and many, even on the heavy lands along the coast, approach 1,000 acres. In the hill districts farms extend to over 2,000 acres. Farming is of a mixed type; a combination of arable and pasture and crops and stock, but during the past decade there has been a great extension of the area under grass. This tendency, however, was evident even before 1914. In the hill districts sheep farming predominates. The land lying between the hills and the sea has, until recent years, been fairly equally divided between arable and pastoral production. The farms being large are consequently well dispersed. Here and there two farms may lie close together but the majority are separated by some distance. On the Cheviots the intervening distance may be great.

FARM buildings have been erected in accordance with the nature of the industry. They are well built of stone, and planned to meet the needs of mixed farming. The steading is arranged for the purpose of fat stock production and includes a complement of sheds, pens, byres, barns, storage houses and granaries, with provision for internal machinery such as an oil engine, and threshing and other machines for the preparation of cattle food. The steading is usually situated towards the centre of the farm, but sometimes has been otherwise placed for convenience according to the lie of the land, water supply and other essentials. The fields lie around the steading at varying distances. The general tendency is for the arable fields to lie nearer the steading, with the pasture fields more outlying.

EACH farm is a definite unit with a complement of labour, machinery, etc., which satisfies its own requirements. There is invariably a large farm house for the use of the farmer, and sufficient farm cottages to house all the regular workers. The internal arrangements are such

that at all times there is sufficient labour to meet normal requirements. Thus each farm is a fairly complete working organisation. This type of farm organisation, though not confined to Northumberland, has perhaps reached its most typical and complete development in that county.

**LABOUR DIFFERENTIATION.** There are yet farms in existence in this part of the county which show complete differentiation of labour. There is great departmentalisation, and workers are specially engaged for particular occupations, e.g., shepherd, stockman, horseman and so on. Up to comparatively recent years this differentiation was extremely rigid but such departmentalisation tends to become less and less distinct. Certain classes of workers have almost disappeared, and in many instances two or more farm occupations have been combined. Where formerly there was a shepherd and steward one man may now fill both these positions. On other farms, either or both the shepherds and stewards work has been taken over by the farmer himself. The number of women workers has declined most rapidly. Along the coastal area the reduction in the numbers of all classes of workers except shepherds has been great. Two examples from the Glendale district show that in No. 1 rigid differentiation of labour still exists, while in No. 2 it tends to disappear. No. 1 is a farm of over 1,000 acres, 650 of which are arable. On this farm the differentiation of labour into very rigid classes tenaciously persists. In 1910 there were employed a steward, two shepherds, six horsemen, one carter, one spademan, one byreman, two odd boys, ten women workers and one full time odd man, making a total of 25 workers. In 1930 all classes remained the same except horsemen, which class had been reduced by one, and women workers whose numbers had been reduced to six. Each of these classes still has its own allotted tasks with which no other class must interfere. The horsemen each have their own horses, ploughs, harrows, and carts, etc. No one is allowed to use the horses or implements save that worker hired for the particular job. The first horseman blows a horn in the mornings to call the other workers. He keeps the time, and is hired to stack the corn during harvest. The second horseman sets out the land for ploughing. The byreman and spademan are also hired to stack the corn, and only these workmen hired for the purpose are allowed to stack. The steward is a very old man with a long period of service on the same farm which probably accounts for the conservation of the farming system. The farm rotation is still a very rigid one of five courses, barley, seeds, grass, oats and roots. This largely accounts for the very small change in the labour complement on the farm.

**FARM No. 2** is one of 507 acres of which 130 are arable. On this farm differentiation of labour is becoming less and less distinct. Although men are hired for particular jobs there is little rigidity in



the holding of them. The workers do as they are ordered and do not obstinately claim their own particular horses, carts and implements. There is no fully recognised shepherd, no steward, no carter nor spademan. Female labour has almost entirely disappeared, and such work as was done by women is now done partly by the hired men and partly by casuals. The acreage under grass has rapidly increased during the past ten years, and there has been a great lengthening of temporary leys, thus cutting down very considerably the amount of labour required. These two farms show that while there is yet a great deal of labour differentiation in some instances, in others it is not nearly so distinct, and continues to decline.

**THE HIRING SYSTEM.** The majority of farms in North Northumberland are let on a yearly lease, but within recent years the number of occupying owners has greatly increased. Where leases are operated, and even where there is occupying ownership, the farm year in most of its essentials is from the 13th May to the same day of the following year. This is more fully realised in any consideration of the farm labourer. The labourers occupy the cottages provided on the farm, and whole families are hired or engaged by the year. Hiring of workers takes place from January to March, but mainly at the March hiring fairs. Those families which are moving take up their new residence on the 13th May following. During recent years many engagements of workers have taken place as a result of advertisements in the local press, and also through personal interviews outside the hiring market. The system, however, remains essentially the same as it has been in the past. Shepherds and stewards are engaged during January, but in other respects the method of hiring is the same as for other workers. The hiring week for the latter is the first week of March. Each town and village has its own hiring fair. Beginning on the first day of the month one fair is followed by another in different towns and villages. Workers failing to secure engagement in any of these six days may be permitted to attend the markets during following weeks, until engagement is secured. About two weeks prior to the commencement of the hiring fairs the farmers "speak to" their workers. Where an employer no longer requires a particular family he informs "the head of the house" to that effect, or where a worker desires a change of situation he informs the employer and no contract is made. When an employer desires to retain a particular family for the succeeding year he makes his offer to the worker and if terms can be agreed upon the contract is renewed. All families not engaged proceed to the hiring markets, which begin at about ten o'clock in the morning. The place of assembly is usually a village square or some particular street in the town.\* The workers stand about in family groups, while the employers and their stewards move

\* Berwick, Alnwick, Wooler and Cornhill are the most important.

about amongst them until they meet a family likely to suit their requirements. When this happens an agreement may be made in the street, but more usually the parties retire to a nearby hotel, where, over a friendly drink, they endeavour to come to terms. When an agreement is made the worker's family is said to be "shifting" from farm A to farm B. The distance of removal may be considerable, though usually only short; maybe between neighbouring farms. Families tend to move within definite and limited areas, within which they have the majority of their associations, and outside which they are reluctant to go. Most engagements when made are concluded by the passing of what is known as "Arling Money" from the engager to the engaged. The amount may vary from 1s. to 10s., but the custom is now tending to die out. Until quite recently there was a general impression amongst the workers that a contract did not become legally binding until "Arling" had been paid. More definite agreements are now drawn up on printed forms supplied by the employer. Workers failing to hire at the fairs are placed in an awkward position for as the occupation of a cottage forms part of the contract they lose this right,<sup>†</sup> and as alternative employment is scarce it becomes a serious matter. Thus, while the yearly hiring system provides security for the workers who get hired, those who do not find themselves in rather unfortunate circumstances.

THE general conditions of a hiring contract are that farmer A agrees to employ worker B at farm C for a period of one calendar year at stated rates of wages, stipulated hours of work, and certain perquisites including the use of a cottage, and B agrees to accept these conditions. This procedure has been somewhat simplified though made rather more rigid by the advent of the Agricultural Wages Board. At Term day families are moved from one farm to another, usually by means of farm carts sent by the employing farmer. In most instances it required four horses and carts and two men, plus the help of the incoming worker's family to do the shifting. Where the distance is relatively great, the cost of moving may be considerable. Within recent years "shifting" has been brought more up to date by the use of steam and motor transport.

THIS system of yearly hiring contracts gives rise to a great deal of migration between farms, though not a lot between districts, and very little between counties. Some migration takes place over the Scottish border, mostly in a southerly direction. The system, however, tends to prevent the migration of families to other industries, but in normal times there is, or was considerable migration of unmarried workers to the coalfields in the south of the county. Examination of a number of families shows that migration is generally proceeding, and that it is the single men who go, leaving the family on the farm.

<sup>†</sup> The tied cottage.

CONDITIONS of employment in the north of the county have always been good, and the county as a whole has occupied a leading place in the payment of wages. It is generally admitted that this has reflected itself in the good class of worker found in the county.

THE hiring fair also provides a day of jollity for the folk of the countryside, and, particularly in the past was it regarded as the annual "day out," even those who had already made engagements attended for the purpose of having a good time. The custom has lost many of its former attractions and delights; in fact, it is tending to die out. The institution of a weekly half-holiday, and the generally increased freedom of the workers, together with the additional amenities for recreation, has robbed the annual hiring fair of much of its former glamour. Football and the cinema, which, by means of bus service are now accessible from even the remotest areas, provide a weekly outlet through which the worker distributes his enjoyments.

CLASSES OF LABOUR AND THEIR FUNCTIONS. Although, during the post-war period, there has been much modification of departmental work on farms, fundamentally the position is much the same as in the earlier part of the century. There is a definite range in the importance of the various classes of workers. The shepherd is undoubtedly the most important individual. Although his importance may differ from farm to farm, depending as it does on the size of the farm, the flock, and the relative importance of arable and pasture land, he is generally the most highly paid worker. He occupies a cottage which is usually one of a "row" or "square," but on hill farms the shepherd's cottage stands by itself and may be miles from another. As a rule he has little connection with the other classes of workers, being more of an individual in charge of the sheep flocks. The shepherd lives among his sheep, and tends them until they are prepared for market and sold. His knowledge of his job is invariably more extensive than that of his employer. Quite frequently he is of a family line which has produced shepherds for many generations, and because of this, shepherding is sometimes said to be an hereditary occupation. The custom of making the shepherd's son the shepherd's help, and later a full shepherd tends to prevent the entry of other workers into the shepherd class, so that the argument of heredity may not always be quite logical. During, and after the war, a few "other workers" became shepherds, and although they have been much criticised by the so-called hereditary shepherds, some of them, employers admit, are of equal ability and have learnt their job quite as well as the shepherd from a shepherd family.

THE shepherd works seven days a week, has no regular working hours, and works according to custom. He "looks" his sheep twice daily to see that they are all correct, giving feed to those that are fattening

or for some reason must be hand fed. Feeding with turnips is, however, delegated to less important members of the farm staff. His busiest times are the periods of lambing, clipping, weaning and dipping. Throughout the year, therefore, the shepherd has busy and slack times. For his work and the conditions and results of his flock he is answerable to no one except his employer. Unlike other workers, he is not supervised by the steward.

THE shepherd's income is often difficult to assess. He is scarcely affected by Wages Board Orders for his wages are always much in advance of the minimum. Values placed upon perquisites by the Wages Board are taken into consideration when agreements are made, but mainly because of convenience. In the payment of shepherds old customs and traditions have prevailed to a much greater extent than in the payment of other classes of workers. Minimum wages of all workers are now fixed on cash values, or at least an approach to cash values, but while some shepherds receive a cash wage plus a cottage only, there are others who are paid a full "stock wage," no cash whatever entering into the agreement. Between the full cash wage and the full stock wage there are many transitional stages depending upon the agreement between the shepherd and his employer. An actual example of a full stock wage may be given. The shepherd concerned received no money, but he had a free cottage, and allowance (lot) of potatoes valued at 3s. per week, he was allowed to keep a cow fed by the farmer at a weekly value of 5s., and he received also 13 bolls of corn (barley and oats) (1 boll=6 bushels), 25 ewes, 25-30 lambs, and 6 wether hogs. This shepherd stated that he could not give the cash value of his income because that depended on the price of his corn and the value of his sheep when sold. On the other hand, shepherds were interviewed who had cash wages plus ordinary perquisites such as a free cottage and one "lot" of potatoes (1 lot of potatoes=36 cwts.), the total value of the wages being 54s. 6d. per week in one instance, 48s. in another, and 46s. in yet another. There was a wide variation in the actual value of the wages paid to a number of shepherds interviewed, and an equally wide variation in the means of payment. The total values of the wages, as estimated by the shepherds themselves, ranged between 46s. and 54s. 6d. per week in 1930. The minimum inclusive rate fixed by the Wages Board for that year was 39s. for adult male workers, including shepherds.

WHERE a shepherd keeps a cow it is usually his own property, and when he removes to another farm he takes the cow with him. Five shillings per week is the maximum amount a farmer may charge for feeding and housing the cow.

ON hill farms the number of sheep allowed in a full stock wage is usually greater by about ten than the number allowed on a lowland



farm, for hill sheep have a lower unit value. The ewes are retained by the shepherd and their lambs are sold. On some farms there is a recognised date when the shepherd's lambs must be removed from the farm, but this does not appear to be a general rule. While both sheep and cows may be the property of the shepherd they are occasionally supplied by the farmer, in which case they are said to be "put on," i.e., the worker takes only the produce of the stock, for example, lambs or milk, but "put on" pigs become the property of the worker, the pigs being supplied by the farmer at about weaning age.

WAGES of hill shepherds are generally somewhat higher than those of lowland shepherds, and because of their more isolated existence they are allowed to keep poultry, and may have two cows, one young beast and several pigs. Frequently shepherds are able to save money, and not a few of them eventually take farms on their own behalf.

THE steward is next in importance to the shepherd. Upon him falls the general supervision of the farm, the supervision and instruction of the workers, and for this purpose he has daily conference with the farmer. Frequently he has to keep the books of the farm. In practice the functions of the steward may vary from those of a foreman to general manager of the farm. In recent years his functions have been greatly modified. Formerly he was not required to do much manual work, but was concerned mainly with getting the work done. Now he is very much of a worker, taking part in practically all the work of the farm. On the smaller farms he may even combine the occupations of steward and shepherd, or steward and horseman. On the larger farms, however, he retains much of his old status. On a few farms the steward has been eliminated altogether, his duties having been taken over by the farmer.

WAGES of stewards show some variation. In 1930 they ranged between 36s. and 45s. in cash, with a cottage, and potatoes to the value of 3s. per week. Where the steward is still permitted to keep a cow he is charged 5s. per week for its keep. Wages Board rates for stewards were at a minimum of 39s. inclusive during 1930, but as the range stated above shows, the actual rates paid were considerably higher. In fact, the average inclusive rate over a considerable number examined was as high as 46s. 6d.

THE byreman takes full charge of the cattle during the winter months when shed fattening is in progress. During the summer when they are being grazed the shepherd takes charge, but generally the byreman has control of the fattening stock, though he must always work according to his instructions in management. His work is of a routine nature, and is heaviest between October and May when the cattle are under cover. He also tends the young stock and store animals, the milk cows (he does not do the milking) and pigs. During the winter

months he works longer than other workers who are limited by hours of daylight. He begins feeding at 6 o'clock in the morning using artificial light. In the spring as the fat stock are sold off his duties lighten and he has an easier time. In the summer he becomes a sort of odd man doing general work on the farm. The minimum rate of wages for byemen in 1930 was 32s. per week cash, but working seven days per week they generally earn more. A number of stockmen examined showed that actual inclusive rates of wages paid to the class ranged between 38s. and 43s. per week.

DURING the depression, where staffs have been reduced the spademan, being the odd man, has been among the first to be eliminated on many farms. Only on the large farms with a fair amount of arable land is he still to be found. He must be accomplished in most branches of agricultural labour. Hedging and ditching and many of the heavier tasks fall to his lot; in fact he must be prepared for almost any sort of work when required. In seed time he may even have to drive a team of horses. The spademan's working hours are regular, and he does no Sunday work. This gives him some advantages over certain other labour classes. Under the Wages Board regulations he is classed among "other workers," the minimum wage for this class in 1930 being 32s. per week including perquisites, but in practice the spademan is paid at a much higher rate. A number interviewed showed that their average cash wage in 1930 was 34s. per week, and when the value of their perquisites was added the average weekly inclusive wage was approximately 40s., or 8s. above the minimum. The reason for the difference between the actual wages paid and the minimum rates is that prior to the inception of the Wages Board system, spademen were paid at rates comparable with those of byemen and horsemen and custom has proved stronger than regulation.

THERE are several classes of horseman to be found on the larger farms, and on all farms there are differences in status. The first horseman or ploughman steward is hardly less important than the classes already dealt with. He receives his orders from the steward, but is virtually in charge of all those workers who can be designated horsemen. Each horseman has a pair of horses for which he is at all times responsible. He works them, feeds, grooms and does all that is necessary for their welfare. This usually involves three periods of attention on Sunday during winter. Although the practice is dying out it is assumed to be the duty of the first horseman to "call" the workers, for which purpose on some farms, he is provided with a horn which he sounds at 5 o'clock in the morning. He gives the order to harness and bridle and leads the way to the fields, and woe betide the person who attempts to usurp this position. In the field he maintains the lead and sees that each horseman follows in turn. It is his duty to instruct beginners

in the art of ploughing, etc., but nowadays the youngsters are left to get on as best they can. He does the stacking in harvest time for which he may or may not be paid a little extra. It was a common practice to give the extra pay in the form of so many bolls of barley, and on certain farms this custom still prevails, but has almost died out or is now a money payment of £1. The minimum wage for horsemen of all classes in 1930 was 39s. inclusive of perquisites. First horsemen are usually given 1s. 6d. to 2s. extra in cash. In 1930 the average cash wage for first horsemen over a number investigated was 33s. 6d., while the average including perquisites was 40s. Wages of other horsemen seldom depart from the minimum rates fixed by the Wages Board.

THE second horseman formerly had special duties, such as setting out the land for ploughing, but it is now customary for each horseman to set out his own breaks. The number of horsemen varies with the arable acreage of the farms, and where a number are employed they are designated as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd horsemen, and so on.

THE position of farm carter is now practically a thing of the past. In pre-war days every farm had a carter whose work was almost confined to carting feeding stuffs, corn, manures and coal, from or to the railways. He was the lord of the road and always took the lead in that capacity. Most of this work is now done by motor lorry. Consignments of feeding stuffs and manures are sent direct to the farms. The amount of grain to be moved has greatly declined during the post-war years, and for what there is to be transported farmers frequently hire motor lorries to expedite the process. Investigation of a number of farms showed that only in rare instances is a carter specifically engaged.

EVERY farm employs an "odd boy," or there may be more than one. They may work with the women, but usually they drive an old horse and do the smaller horse jobs on the farm.

IT is only during busy periods that casual labourers become evident. They are employed for hoeing, for the hay and corn harvests, and for turnip pulling in winter. The extent to which numbers of this type of labourer have declined is very great. Prior to the general use of machinery there was an annual influx of Irish labour for harvesting, etc., some of the larger farms employing as many as twenty during a season. While one or two Irish labourers are still to be met during the summer months they are seldom employed for long periods, working only a few days here and there. Casual labour is now mainly composed of "locals." These may be from the villages, but not a few are farm workers who have failed to hire, and are living in rented cottages.

NORTHUMBERLAND has been described as a county where woman's work on farm is traditional. Probably in no other county in England

have women played such a large part in the actual field work of the farm, but recent years have produced vast changes and women are rapidly disappearing as an agricultural labour force. Formerly women workers were known as "bondagers," and though the term was in fairly general use up to 1914 it had then lost much of its significance; now it is seldom heard. The actual "bond" was put an end to many years ago. It was an agreement between the farmer and the male worker that the latter should provide one or more women workers. If he had none in his own family he had to engage one. This so-called "bondager" had board and lodging in the hind's cottage and the hind paid her wages. About the middle of the last century (1845), the dislike of the bondage system culminated in a determined attempt to put an end to it. The hiring market at Wooler was the scene of a great protest. A large number of workers were gathered there from all parts of Glendale, and they held out against engagements which included the bond. Eventually one farmer engaged his hands, leaving out the "bond" condition. Others followed suit and the bond was broken. From that time the bondage system gradually died out. Women workers remained but they were engaged by the farmer and worked directly for him. Up to the war period a relic of the bondage system persisted, in that farmers preferred to engage families which included women workers, and perhaps this accounts for the survival of the term "bondager" until that time. The importance of women's labour on the farm has greatly diminished during recent years because of the decline of the arable acreage and the consequent diminution of the area under roots and cereal crops. A few farms still employ as many women workers as in 1910, but these are the exception, and on many others female labour has been dispensed with altogether. The women do the lighter jobs on the farm, and at their own particular tasks they may be even more effective than men.

WHEN women's labour was general, there was amongst them considerable differentiation of status. They were engaged as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd women, and so on, although, except among the younger workers, there was little difference in their remuneration. The first woman received the orders and led the way to the fields. She took the leading place, and set the pace at work, and she also kept the time. For this she was paid about 1s. per week extra. Up to about 30 or 40 years ago the women on large farms were supervised by a male steward, quite distinct from the steward of male workers. He did no actual labour, but merely followed behind the string of female workers and saw that they did their work properly.

As distinct from the male workers who have "upstanding" wages, the women, although subject to yearly hiring contracts, have never been paid "upstanding" wages, i.e., not paid for any holidays or when laid off during wet weather. The Wages Board fixes minimum



hourly rates for female workers, but women are still paid on a weekly basis. Cash wages in 1930 were at about 21s. per week (the hourly minimum rate was 5d.). Many had also allowances of potatoes, and some (cottars) occupied a cottage, which brought wages inclusive of these perquisites to as much as 25s. 6d. in several instances. Women now worked 52½ hours in summer and 48 hours in winter. The latter figure multiplied by 5d. produces a weekly wage of 21s. There is very little casual female labour. Most of it is supplied by the wives of farm workers who go out when required in busy times, although wives are now reluctant to go into the fields.

IN a district where farms are mostly large it is seldom obligatory upon the farmer's family to apply itself to the actual physical work of the farm. Large farms permit of a wide range of type of farmer. From the gentleman farmer delegating most of the business of the management to the steward, to the farmer who not only utilises the labour of his family but himself works unstintingly on very much the same level as his hired hands, there is considerable variation. The size of farm is not the deciding factor in the amount of work done by the farmer and his family, for some of those farming the larger farms may work more persistently than those on the smaller farms. During recent years, however, in many instances the farmer has taken upon himself the function of steward or shepherd, and occasionally of both.

FROM what has been stated it will be obvious that there is a large number of classes of workers on north Northumbrian farms, and there is much differentiation of labour between these classes, but modern economic conditions in agriculture are bringing about many changes. Labour differentiation is ever becoming less rigid and severe, and some classes of workers are tending to disappear altogether.

**THE PERQUISITE SYSTEM.** During the past 100 years in Northumberland there has been a gradual transition from a system of payment of farm workers in which money paid a relatively small part, the bulk of wages being in kind, to the present time when perquisites are of ever decreasing importance and cash has come to be the greatest factor. On the basis of the minimum rates fixed by the Wages Board in 1930 the perquisites value was 18 per cent. of the total. Ordinary perquisites (cottage 3s., potatoes 3s., coal carting 1s.), amounted to 7s. per week. Omitting stock wages, perquisites were 14.5 per cent. of the actual average wages paid to shepherds, and when the value of a cow's keep is added to perquisites, the proportion was one quarter of the total wages of this class. Perquisites formed 15 per cent. of the actual wages of stewards; of spademen's 17.5 per cent.; stockmen's 17 per cent.; 1st horsemen 17.7 per cent., and other horsemen 17.1 per cent. These are percentages of the average inclusive wages paid. Thus roughly it may be said that cash now forms about 83 per cent. of the wages paid to farm workers within the area.

INFORMATION about wages of 90 to 100 years ago shows that the workers were paid largely in quantities of farm produce, little money entering into the transaction. Men's wages for the year were then £4 in money, twelve and a half bolls of corn of different kinds (six of oats, four of barley, two of beans and half a boll of wheat), half a stone of wool, the keep of a cow on grass in summer and one ton of hay in winter. When the hind was not able to buy a cow the farmer provided one during the man's term of service (a "put on" cow). The worker was also allowed 1,000 yards of potatoes, himself supplying the seed and lifting the crop in his own time, while the farmer did the planting and carting. Each hind had to rear, at his own cottage, a number of chickens for the farmer, and his wife had to spin so many hanks of lint for the farmer's household. One woman worker was always supplied by the "full hind" (the bondage system). She was paid at the rate of eightpence per day in winter, tenpence in summer and a shilling a day for twenty days in harvest. "Loose" or "dotal" men received nine shillings per week, and £1 extra for harvest. Young men driving a pair of horses got one shilling a day. Boys and girls went to work at ten years of age and got fourpence per day. The amount of corn given varied with the price. At this time the price of a boll of wheat was thirty shillings, a boll of barley fifteen shillings, and a boll of oats twelve shillings.

FROM this example some indication is derived of how the worker lived. Apparently, very little wheaten bread entered into his diet. In fact, until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the greater part of the farm worker's diet consisted of oatmeal (porridge), barley bread (barley bannacks or bannocks as pronounced), and potatoes. Many of the old people yet living remember, and frequently refer to the days of "barley bannacks."

THE decline of the perquisite system, particularly of quantities of barley and oats, is due, partly at least, to the change to a wheaten bread diet. The minimum cash wage of 32s. per week in 1930 provided a yearly cash income of £83 4s. od. for adult workers (householders), which affords a striking comparison with the £4 paid in 1840 or thereabout. The minimum inclusive wage (39s.) in 1930 provided a total income of £101 8s. od. for the year. It is difficult to make an accurate estimate, but the total value of a hind's wages in 1840 must have been in the neighbourhood of £25 for the year, of which only about 16 per cent. was paid in cash. Thus, during 100 years, the relative importance of cash and perquisites in the absolute income of the workers has been reversed.

IT appears that during the middle of last century, practically all the householders were allowed to keep a cow. At present, the only three perquisites which can be said to be general, are, a cottage, a

supply of potatoes, and coal carting. Wheat, wool and beans have disappeared entirely from the system, allowances of oats and barley seldom occur, and are granted only for the performance of special duties, while cows are now the special privilege of only a few shepherds and an occasional steward. Within a few years, allowances of cereals of any kind may be expected to be eliminated from the system altogether. The war period, and later the Wages Board System, which demands more or less rigid wage standards, has done much to hasten a process which has been long in operation. The difficulty of valuing certain perquisites, which is necessary for the fixation of minimum wage rates, has hastened their elimination. The worker also has a greater desire for cash wages, and frequently the allowances of potatoes have been, at least partly, commutated for a cash equivalent.

THE allowance of potatoes is called a "lot," and a "lot" until quite recently was a measure of 1,000 yards in the drill on some farms and 1,200 yards on others. The farmer supplied the seed and did all the cultivation, etc., the worker only being required to do the lifting of his own lot. When the worker ceased to supply the seed is not known. The Wages Board, however, now stipulates that potatoes up to a certain value must be supplied, and to get over this difficulty a "lot" is now recognised as being 18 sacks, each containing 2 cwts., or a total of 36 cwts. The Wages Board did not originate this method, for it was well known even prior to 1914. The system is of great advantage to the worker, not only because it eliminates the risk in bad seasons of his deriving small quantities from the 1,000 yards drill "lot," but it also relieves him of the responsibility of planting and lifting the crop.

OF a total of 188 farm workers' families investigated, all had cottages, allowances of potatoes, and coal carted, 17 had cows (10 of these were shepherds and 7 were stewards). Only six families had allowances of barley, of these, two were shepherds having stock or part stock wages, two were 1st horsemen, one was an ordinary horseman and one a byreman. In only one instance—a shepherd—was the quantity large, and this was part of a full stock wage, the amount being 13 bolls (78 cwts.). Excluding the shepherds, all these perquisites of barley were additional payments for stacking or some other special service. Young pigs (put on) were given in some instances for the same reason. An extra money payment of £1 was given to a few workers for stacking. All these are mere relics of a former system wherein all men who stacked corn had an allowance of barley.

THE perquisite system has been declining for at least one hundred years. The inception of the Wages Board, with its insistence on payment for overtime, has hastened the decline, and within the next two decades it is probable that the system will have disappeared altogether, and wages will be paid entirely in cash.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

### OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES IN THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF EDUCATION.\*

(1) OUTDOOR education up to about the age of 7 is a matter for the parent and the nursery school. A sane community would ensure a healthy country upbringing for all its infants. Failing this, parent and infant school should get the child in the open air as much as they can—free games, rambles, and mere being out in the air and sunshine, with as little clothing as possible.

(2) FOR boys and girls aged about 8 to 16. Phases of experiment have included Thompson-Seton's "Red Indian" or "Woodcraft Indian" movement (with "laws" of Obedience, Courage, Cleanliness, Abstinence from Smoking and Alcohol; Fighting of Wildfire; Kindness; Fair Play; Silence; Reverence; Honour); Baden Powell's "Scouts" of 1908 and Girl Guides, &c.; Woodcraft Chivalry, 1916; Hargrave's "Kibbo Kift, the Woodcraft Kindred," 1920; Co-operative Woodcraft Folk, 1923 (Camping, World Peace, Interest in Nature and World History). Woodcraft is the hunting life with the hunting left out. The woodcrafter's life resembles that of his prehistoric prototype. Both are wanderers across the countryside, dwelling in tents or rock shelters, or sleeping right out in the open air; both adapt themselves to untamed nature, instead of wresting it, like cultivator and inquirer, to suit themselves. Woodcraft practices are stalking, tracking, hiking, studying plant and animal and rock, climbing, fire-lighting, cooking over the camp-fire, dancing and running barefoot across the grass. It offers sport and adventure, encourages science and art (drawing, handicraft, &c.), enjoys ceremonial, and feels drawn to St. Francis of Assisi in his regard for beast and bird as kinsmen. The training includes map reading, camp-technique, first-aid, signalling, pioneering.

(3) ORGANISATION for Adolescents, exemplified in the hiking groups now popular. These though ostensibly recreational, are of great value educationally, develop physical fitness, interest in the countryside, comradeship and breadth of outlook. There is no close season for Woodcraft. A few hardy spirits camp even through the depths of winter; many others spend the week-end on a hefty hike. The hiker seeks not only to escape from the dreary town, but to brace mind and body, and to kindle goodwill towards his fellows, so that he may play his part in leading the world from its present age of confusion to the happier time of which the prophet has caught a glimpse, and towards which the thinker has striven.

I. O. EVANS.

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### THE FAMILY AS PARTNER IN EDUCATION.†

A PHILOSOPHY is important to enable us to get a perspective on life and to give a proportion to life's values. These thoughts are based on the anarchic philosophy, that is on natural law rather than external law. This gives us the social ideal—that state of society in which man is so developed that his guiding principle shall be the law within him, and in which co-operation shall have preference to competition. A necessary basis for the perfect social life is the perfect individual. School education is now too much of

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\*Summary of an address given to the Educational Circle in March, 1933.

†Summary of a paper read at the Educational Circle in May, 1933.



a technique and not connected with social philosophy. Even freedom has become a technique; but the most perfect technique cannot make up for individual liberty.

THE functions of the Family as an educational partner is the development of the child as an individual. The only individual who is happy is the one without an inferiority complex. In the home only does the individual realise his value as a human being, as a creature important and vital in himself, apart from any specific quality or virtue. The growing child must be secured in its psychological conditions and be sure of his value. Then there is no need to assert himself. The contribution of the family is this certainty, and thus he gets his ethical basis; for the right moral feeling springs from our relationships to society. In the family the individual is stressed; in school society is stressed.

EDUCATION of the child can be carried on by the ordinary mother who has a good will towards life even at her washtub or household work. The elements of reading, writing and arithmetic can all be taught when the child is willing, and, what is more important, the attitudes towards life and society can be taught at home.

SONIA CLEMENTS.

#### EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF.\*

*Industrialisation*: A very little consideration reveals to the student of sociology that what appears to be a temporary detail of administration is *the problem par excellence* for every industrial or even very partially industrial community. What makes a community industrial is the abandonment by any appreciable portion of its members of the primary effort to wring from nature food, warmth, clothing and shelter for self and offspring in order to apply themselves to the secondary production of other than consumption goods. It is always a gamble to apply oneself to something which is not self-preservation, and among gamblers there are always losers. Gamblers take the risk of loss for the sake of the possible winnings. A man abandons the direct pursuit of food and comfort for something which promises to bring him more of those desirables, and more easily, than result from his own direct efforts. Stated briefly, industrial wages are higher and more easily and pleasantly earned than agricultural wages. In the present era the pregnant saying "unto him that hath shall be given" is well illustrated, for the man who gambles by seeking to live by industry is maintained at the public expense when idle, while the man who plods on in the direct struggle with nature is not. The most fundamental question for sociologists to-day is—"At what point in the development is an aggregation of human beings willing to come corporately to the rescue of these gamblers who have not only lost their bets but squandered their previous winnings; and why?" There is only one question here, not two. Aid is given because they are both numerous and disorderly, and at the moment when their numbers make their disorderly behaviour a menace.

*Work relief—the Rasphuys de Gand*: Any given people may pass into this stage and out of it again. The conditions giving rise to the need may have been absent, then present, then absent again. Space only admits of two examples here. The people of the Netherlands were amongst the first to

\*EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF: by Joanna Colcord, assisted by William Koplovitz and Russel H. Kurtz. Russell Sage Foundation, 1932. (\$1.50.)

be industrialised in modern Europe and Ghent was early a centre. In what is one of the classics of this subject M. Louis Stroobant described for us the Rasphuys de Gand. The citizens of Ghent found unemployed wool workers a menace in the 14th century and set up an institution where they could be put to work. So familiar was the need in those times that such provision was made statute law for the whole of England in the 43rd of Elizabeth—a remarkable step when it is remembered how very local and particular the circumstances giving rise to the need must have been and must always be. But we must follow the Netherlanders. In 1879 we find them—not combing, carding or weaving wool but—farming in the Transvaal. They are threatened with extermination by Cetewayo, the Zulu “organiser of victory.” The Netherlanders have less than 14s. in the public treasury. Clearly such a community recognised no need to tax itself to set to work its unemployed. Its unemployed, its *beïwohner*, were a far larger and more acute problem than ever were the woolworkers of Ghent, but *each family had to support its own*. The community accepted no corporate responsibility and took no corporate action.

*Bricks without straw* : Our other example has the merit of being familiar to all. Miss Colcord says on p. 11 “as early as 1711.” We should prefer, in speaking perhaps of the oldest problem in sociology, “as recently as Rameses II.” The Israelites may well have been the only pre-Poor-Law people who refused to adjust population to means of subsistence. They were always out willy nilly to become more numerous than the stars in the firmament or the sand on the shore. It did not take a people obsessed with such a superstition long to develop an unemployed problem. Like all the unemployed who have ever been “set to work” by a paternal community they were thoroughly ungrateful. Being more than usually to blame themselves they have enshrined in their Sacred Texts their ingenious transfer of this blame to the innocent Rameses ! His problem was to find an excuse for giving them rations. The excellence of his rations is the theme of their most heartfelt national lyrics. They are to this day casting it in the teeth of Moses that his were not to be compared with them. In order to eke out the construction of the treasure cities which he was never at all likely to use, seeing that the treasure was all spent on war the moment he had it, Rameses ordered a solid brick, not one flung together round a wisp of straw. The unemployed, true to their eternal type, complained bitterly that they were not allowed to do a “slop job” and get away to the flesh pots awaiting them. Equally true to type, when called upon later by Moses to face the problems of life for themselves, they longed for the copious rations served out by the paternal government of Pharaoh.

LIKE the Netherlanders, the Egyptians have passed out of this stage. It would take more than Rameses redivivus to tax the fellaheen of to-day for the support of unemployed foreigners in Port Said !

*Getting rid of (1) toil (2) responsibility.*

THE sociologist is compelled to pause here to note in the land of Goshen, three millenia ago, the social forces at work which exercise all minds today and have called into being Miss Colcord's book. The man who gambles on the chance of filling his belly without fighting Dame Nature for the wherewithal is lured on by two psychological prizes in addition to those of more and more easily obtained rations. He sees his way to offload two nightmares (1) hard work (2) responsibility. (1) Industry has always been less toilsome than agriculture. It was incomparably easier to make flint

implements than to till the soil, restrain refractory steers or bring ewes through the lambing season. (2) The "taskmasters" took all the responsibility at Gershom and Ramses. The "worker" made, grumbling the while, his tally of bricks, and went off to draw his rations. The element of irresponsibility arrests us at each turn. They "murmured" (*sic*) equally at Rameses for setting them to work and at Moses for liberating them from it. The Glasgow "unemployed person" who kicked his relief work foreman in the stomach remains immortalised by the British Royal Commission of 1906-9.

#### *Community Responsibility.*

WHAT is the passage of thought, convention and, if any, law, from the decision of the less vigorous, less responsible person to leave agriculture for the easier life of industry, and the assumption that the whole community is bound to help him? How does it take place and when? Again we have one question disguised as two. It happens *when* the unemployed industrialist can exert sufficient pressure, and in consequence of that pressure, centralisation advances hand in hand with industrialisation in the measure that industrialised communities can be far more easily taxed than agricultural ones. In their Final Report the British Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance employ (Nov. 1932) as a Dogma the responsibility of the whole community to maintain the unemployed! A more precise writer has since pointed out that the people of the United Kingdom have only made themselves nationally responsible as to one third of a flat rate allowance to the insured unemployed and their dependents, and, by Viscount Snowden's Act, for the whole of a flat rate allowance to the insurable unemployed with dependents who have "fallen out of insurance." They have, it is true, *lent* money to insolvent local authorities for purposes of Poor Relief. This week (February 24th, 1933) Liverpool, Manchester and other cities are approaching the nation to ask it to accept responsibility for their "unemployed." The *principle* of community responsibility was no doubt laid down in the 43rd Elizabeth, but that thrifty sovereign would have made short work of a minister who asked her to find the money!

#### *The American Situation.*

FOR a number of obvious reasons, North America offers, in this connexion, a field of observation of infinite attraction to the sociologist. Its vast size and natural wealth: its opportunities for individual enterprise without any semblance of a rival in human history, and a consequent self-confidence and impatient contempt of paternalism equally without rival: the presence *in its industries* of huge hordes of men accustomed to the hard unaided life of the plains and mountains of Eastern Europe: the ease with which employment at high wages has been found of recent years: the universal extravagance: these and other causes had combined to throw upon the screen in high relief the clash of the social forces at work throughout the ages. What has sometimes taken 500 years has happened in 500 days. In the last issue of the NEWS LETTER (an organ of the Family Welfare Association of America), the financial liability of the whole nation for the unemployed "is accepted out of hand!" To the now frantic cry of the American Social worker (for it is the 4th year of the great depression), "What shall we do to be saved?" comes back the comforting prescription, "Lay your burden on someone else's back, the broadest, remotest, least articulate you can find, that of the nation!" If only the social worker in the poor sections of every industrial town can feel that the maintenance of unemployed John James Brown and wife and piccaninnies is no longer his funeral but

has been taken away as far out of his ken and sight as Washington D.C., he can sleep in peace—the first time for four years. If there is now a landslide of socialistic legislation in America, the Gallios among us may say, "They had by far better have 'bowed down earlier in the House of Rimmon,' 'made friends with their enemy while yet in the way with him,' and 'made friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness;' or, in the jargon of to-day, 'the republican politicians should have desecrated the "red light" a little sooner.' 'Then they might have got away from the highwayman at a lower figure.'"

MISS COLCORD'S BOOK belongs to a very different stage from the one revealed by the last issue of the NEWS LETTER. For many months after her report was asked for and received, President Hoover continued to believe that the maintenance of individuals out of centralised tax-raised money was emphatically *not* the way of progress. He believed and stated in his last speeches before his great defeat in November 1932 that in the personal relationships between man and man and through personal benevolence lay the onward path for mankind. Doubtless Miss Colcord's book greatly assisted him in reaching and still more in maintaining, in the face of vast unpopularity, this important sociological thesis. It was necessary for President Hoover's organisation on Unemployment Relief to be able to see through the eyes of the most skilled observers in the U.S.A., just what Buffalo, what Birmingham (Alabama), what Kansas City, what Little Rock (Arkansas), what Milwaukee and so forth, as well as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia had in fact been doing in the way of work relief; what the effort had been worth; and what were the principal warnings to be drawn from it, supposing it were necessary to give Federal approval and even aid to such measures.

THIS information Miss Joanna Colcord, successor to Miss Mary Richmond as Director of the Charity Organisation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, has collected and arranged with the ability and energy to be expected from her father's daughter. Barring two and a half pages (pp 225-228) on Concepts underlying Work Relief, we are left to do most of our sociological thinking for ourselves. Even here Miss Colcord raises strictly personal and "case-work" issues, hardly sociological ones. She is concerned with the conservation of personality values. She sums up on work relief (p. 228) thus: "It will be expensive; and the returns will be imponderable—to be stated only in terms of salvation. When such as these whom we have been considering regain their place in industry—become once more the solid citizens whose contributions we ask at Community Chest time—will they look back on these bitter years with a feeling of shame and defeat, or will they feel a rising sense of co-partnership in the community that extended when they needed it a helpful hand which they could grasp without the loss of self-respect?"

As sociologists we are tempted to ask, "Will they get the chance? Has the community Miss Colcord was thinking of passed beyond recall?" In the forgotten world of which Miss Colcord wrote there were skilled, highly trained social workers enjoying high prestige, both personally and as officers of powerful and renowned societies.

THE amateur efforts of city departments, the log rolling and favouritism inseparable from local politics are trounced *de haut en bas* by Miss Colcord and those who reported to her. It will soon be necessary to ask "Where are they now?" What do the officers of vast state relief administrations



care for the comments of "trained and high principled social workers?" *They never hear them. Why should they?* What do politicians care when handling the most copious and succulent of all electioneering bait, for the criticisms of a group which cannot muster 20 votes in any constituency, be they never so erudite and able? What does the great press care for a specialised public, tiny in extent and quite out of sympathy with it in any case? Miss Colcord's pages bristle with excellent points such as occur immediately to social workers brought up on the high thought-out standards of the greatest voluntary societies in the world, and must have been invaluable to President Hoover and his Committee.

THE present emergency which presented itself to President Hoover and Miss Colcord in 1931 found North America at its peak of equipment with such critics. It was natural to suppose they would always be there. We are reminded of the departure from Athens of the First Sicilian Expedition. Thucydides writing when even such a possibility was only a lovely and already fading memory pauses to dwell upon the incredible *richesse* of the Athens of that year in brilliant personnel. The crews were so fit and so exultant in their strength that *the whole fleet made a boat race of it as far as the Island of Aegina!* Their mothers watched with straining eyes those triremes not one of which was ever to return.

"Long will his lady look, frae the castle down,  
Ere she see the Earl o' Moray come soundin' thro' the town,"

says the Scots ballad.

So is it in sociology. From time to time, at long intervals, in rare combinations of factors, high values are discovered, and, even for a fleeting space, established. Then comes back the tide of average urges, common impulses, ordinary reactions, and not even a trace of them is left upon the sands of time! Haunted perhaps by some such foreboding Miss Colcord concludes with these words:

"WORK Relief is certainly no solution for the problem of *unemployment*; it remains to determine how effective it may become in offering a solution for some of the problems of *unemployed individuals*. We have not attempted to approach this question ourselves. Only detailed case studies, of the "before-and-after" type, would produce the material upon which a judgment could be formed."

J.C.P.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

**THE DRIFT OF DEMOCRACY:** by Michael de la Bedoyère. *ESSAYS IN ORDER.* London: Sheed and Ward, 1932. (2s. 6d.)

THE author of the present volume finds the origin, inspiration and justification of democracy in the Christian assertion of every man's real and measureless value. This assertion, he maintains, was conspicuous in mediæval Christianity but first found direct political application through the individualism of the Reformation. With the decline of Christian belief and the failure to discover any equivalent substitute this ideal element in democracy has also weakened, while on the practical side shortcomings and downright failures have resulted in widespread disappointment and disillusionment. In the circumstances the one hope for democracy would seem to lie in a revival of Christianity. The theory is helpful and stimulating and supplies an opportune rejoinder to those who would condemn Christianity for ineffectiveness and worse on the score of its otherworld outlook. At the same time the analysis and diagnosis seem to me to be inadequate in themselves. The ideal inspiration, mighty though it was, would not have succeeded in realising democracy without a practical impulse, the spectacle of misgovernment and consequent injustice and misery. The combination of the two, the ideal and the actual, appears in that once world-stirring sentence with which the *SOCIAL CONTRACT* of Rousseau opens—"Man is born free but is everywhere in chains". And there was another combination of the ideal and the actual that gave an immense even if a transient stimulus to the democratic faith, namely, the *DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN* and its apparent vindication in the War of Independence. Important too was the classical influence and especially the glamour that once adorned republican virtue as shown in the ancient Roman—Regulus or Fabricius or Mucius Scaevola—and the Athenians triumphant at Marathon and Salamis.

I MUST own that I would myself attribute the modern democratic movement more to actual urge than to ideal guidance. To me it seems that the present condition of civilisation is one of generally extreme differentiation, a differentiation that, if the world develops progressively, should in the future be gradually—perhaps very gradually—qualified by reassimilative tendencies as the analytical method now long and still generally preponderant yields gradually to resynthesis. If this be so then the distinction between teachers and taught, rulers and ruled should now be very clearly marked and should in the practical as in the cultural sphere obtain expression in a regime of aristocracy in the original sense of that much degraded term. That such a regime exists only in a very limited degree is traceable ultimately to the tendency in the practical sphere to class-differentiation. From this tendency others resulted; the qualification for the exercise of political authority tended to become not so much personal aptitude as hereditary privilege, while such authority tended to be exercised in the interest not so much of the community as of the privileged classes, the result being general misgovernment, gross class-discrimination and habitual illusage of the masses. Some reform was attempted from above in the patriarchalism connected with the Enlightenment movement. But for the great majority at all events this movement, which was inspired mainly by rationalism, brought no alleviation and in consequence men of large sympathy together with others perhaps less disinterested now sought to create in the masses, who would never have moved of themselves, the

demand for a fairer system, one in which all would have a voice. Democracy on this view is an obvious and rough-and-ready remedy for an evil the true nature of which was not fully understood. It is based too on an equalitarianism that is largely a legal convention and it contains a further element of weakness and even unreality in the fact that it was not really won for the people by themselves, but was suggested to them and devised for them and sometimes presented to them for not so much as the asking. In the circumstances one can hardly wonder at its very moderate success. That this is the true explanation of democracy seems to be further evidenced by the fact that in the Catholic Church, where the type of government is highly aristocratic in the original sense but owing to celibacy there can be no governing caste, and further the rulers have been guided in the main by their conception of the general good, there has been no democratic movement. (How the Catholic Church will adapt itself to the synthetic tendencies of the future is of course a further question). I don't mean that class distinctions are essentially bad; they provide a necessary framework for society and in other respects seem to be in accordance with human nature; within due limits they do more good than harm. But how are such limits to be discovered and observed? Besides the democratically governed or at least constituted states there are the new-style paternal or patriarchal governments of Europe—paternalism may be put into commission, though at present it is largely associated with individuals—and about these adventurous usurpations such questions arise as how far they are truly aristocratic, how far they will succeed in acquiring a stable foundation, how far in curbing the caste tendencies that if not curbed might soon convert them into aristocracies of the old and largely spurious type. To me it seems that, whatever their present merits or demerits, lasting success cannot be secured to them except through some such regime of discipline as to-day is actualised only perhaps in the governing organisation of the Catholic Church. Celibacy may be for them impracticable; but only in a life of devotion and self-abnegation can the art and equipment of true statesmanship be acquired, including the ability to handle political problems in steady accordance with the general good and the moral authority to take appropriate, even though unpopular, action—qualities in which the party leaders of democracy do not always excel.

IF on the other hand the future, the fairly near future—it seems useless to try to look further ahead—is to belong to resuscitated democracy, the author of the present volume has, I think, a strong case in arguing that this cannot happen apart from a revival of ideas of human value and dignity for which the one firm basis is supplied by a spiritual interpretation of reality.

P.J.H.

**DIVORCE. A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION:** by J. P. Lichtenberger. 1931. McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd. (21s.) It is held that divorce is a subject, not for condemnation but for investigation, and is to be considered on the basis of history and experience. Marriage is a personal relationship. The legal bond gives social sanction to that relationship. If therefore the relationship is broken, the marriage is broken, legal bonds notwithstanding. Divorce, which cancels the legal bond is not the cause but the effect of broken marriage. Neither Church nor State are effectual in preventing marital disintegration, and the fact that divorce increases despite attempts to inhibit it, is evidence that, within limits, fundamental human needs refuse artificial controls. Their failure to do so has led to this investigation which has been made in order to discover the real causes producing disintegration. Not by valuing the letter above the spirit will the institution of marriage be preserved. That it will be preserved is the opinion of the author, but the process which gives the greatest promise of success is by loosening the marriage bonds in order to strengthen them. The book is by an American and is based largely on American experience.

BRITAIN'S TRADE AND AGRICULTURE: by Montague Fordham.  
Allen & Unwin. 1932. (7s. 6d.)

THOUGH so short a time has elapsed since this book was published, or even written, we might already almost include it in the list of those which have changed the current of history—almost, but not quite, since the change in British agricultural policy with which it is associated was due more to Mr. Fordham's vigorous advocacy of his principles through other media. *BRITAIN'S TRADE AND AGRICULTURE* is less a clear exposition of a policy than an exposition of the process of thought by which the author arrived at the conclusions which he has been so successful in imposing on the Cabinet and the departments of Trade and Agriculture.

THAT process may be described as a violent reaction against the crude and over-confident theories of the economists of the *laissez faire* school. Like Carlyle and Ruskin, Mr. Fordham indignantly denied the complacently optimistic doctrine fashionable in the eighteenth century that a benevolent Providence had decreed that universal happiness should follow when each man pursued his own pecuniary profit, or, as Cobden put it, that buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest was the way to apply the Christian rule of doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us. The economists' argument was that profit seeking employers, producers and traders were compelled by mutual competition, willy-nilly, to pay to those whom they employed the highest wages that the industry could afford, and to accept from customers the lowest prices that would cover the cost of production. To this Mr. Fordham answers that competition, in the actual working of markets, Covent Garden and others, does not reduce prices but increases waste and disorder, and makes the cardinal industry of food production, if not also other industries, a demoralising gamble.

THE remedies which Mr. Fordham urges—and which we should like to see more fully detailed—are (1) the securing to home producers of the first look-in in the home market, (2) the limitation of foreign imports, by quotas, to what is necessary to supplement home output, (3) ordered marketing under a system of standard prices for home produce, permitting the producer to concentrate his energies on production, (4) full utilisation of electrical power and the actual and potential results of agricultural research, (5) credit control, to secure that credit shall be available for the purposes which are worth while, *e.g.*, housing, afforestation, land drainage, &c., instead of being dissipated in frivolities from which immediate profits for promoters are anticipated, and (6) the absorption of the unemployed in such works, in revived agriculture, and in the subsidiary industries which would develop in association with revived agriculture.

MR. FORDHAM recognises, *en passant*, that the attainment of standard prices subject to minimum fluctuations cannot be achieved by control of imports and of marketing alone, and that it requires also a drastic measure of currency reform, including a definite and final abandonment of the gold standard. This is one of the points which we should like to have more fully dealt with.

G. S.

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TRUTH ABOUT INDIA: by V. Elwin, 1932, Allen & Unwin (1s.), is written by an Englishman with long experience of life in India. He believes the only solution of the Indian problem is independence, and that British opposition is due to misunderstanding based on ignorance of the facts. Especially does he deny that Ghandi and the Congress party are responsible for present difficulties, and gives evidence to show how they have been misrepresented.



**AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS:** by F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn.  
Macmillan, 1932. (18s.)

THIS study is based on a statistical enquiry made in 1928 by the method of questionnaire (1) to ascertain from what social classes American business leaders are recruited; (2) to determine the proportionate contribution of each class in relation to the proportion of that class in the general population; and (3) to throw light on the relative influence of hereditary and environmental factors in such disparities as may exist between the respective contributions. 8,749 replies were received from an issue of 15,101 forms sent to persons selected from a Register of Directors containing 60,000 names for the whole country. A large amount of useful data has been tabulated in some 60 tables.

(1) The conclusions drawn by the investigators are that the fathers of 10.3 per cent. of American business leaders were manual labourers; of 12 per cent., farmers; and of 56.7 per cent., business men. Of these last, not all are well-to-do. They consider 44 per cent. to represent the number recruited from the well-to-do elements of the Community, that this percentage is rapidly increasing, and is likely to become preponderant.

(2) In 1880, the approximate date of birth of the respondents to the questionnaire, the labourer class comprised 45.7 per cent. of the male married population and business and professional men 10.2 per cent. In the present "sample" of business men, 10.8 per cent. had fathers in the labourer class and 70.1 per cent. fathers in the business and professional classes.

(3) These are wide disparities and the third enquiry attempts an explanation. The authors suggest two theories of the preponderance of the contribution of the business and professional classes: the "privilege" view, and the "superiority" view, "privilege" signifying environmental advantage, and "superiority" a difference of hereditary traits. They come down on the side of "superiority." The final sentence of the book reads, "Our results strongly suggest, even if they do not prove, that inequality of earnings between the several occupational classes has its origins in a fundamental inequality of native endowments, rather than in an inequality of opportunities."

APART from the question as to whether success in a particular social or economic system is a mark of innate ability, the conclusions reached may be criticised on the score of their validity or invalidity as logical deductions from the data. Thus, "the conditions of 'environment' covered by the data of the present enquiry are, in the main, four: influential connections, financial aid, general schooling, and formal business training." It is admitted that these are not exhaustive of all the environmental factors. Yet it is from these that the conclusions are drawn, other imponderable factors being incapable of inclusion in the enquiry. The importance of these latter is discussed in the last four pages of the book, but their earlier exclusion has led to a confusion of the categories (hereditary and environmental) which it was intended to differentiate. Thus, on p. 248, we read that "if any presumption can be said to have been established by the findings, it is that ability (whether innate or acquired) rather than environmental factors independent of ability, has been prepotent in determining the success of the business leaders in our sample." On p. 262, "ability, whether innate or acquired," has become "native ability." And on p. 264 "the results, though not final, lend themselves more easily to interpretation in terms of innate differences, than in terms of acquired advantages." The crux is in the phrase, "ability whether innate or acquired," which indicates that

while ability has an innate basis, its manifestation in business success may depend on environmental factors. The evidence so given does not appear to have evaluated the respective influences of the two agencies, and from the qualifications in the four final pages, it is possible to draw the opposite conclusion from that of the authors. As T. H. Green once said: Untie the man's legs and then see how he will walk. J.E.D.

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**PROPERTY, A STUDY IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY:** by Ernest Beaglehole. Allen & Unwin. 1931. (10s. 6d.)

It is a pleasure to welcome a first book by a young author so competent and promising as this one. Mr. Beaglehole explores the subject of the psychological roots in primary instincts of the institutions of private and communal property, and the process by which sentiments in relation to ownership have been built up. To lay a solid foundation he had first to investigate the question whether the primary instincts concerned include the acquisitive instinct, which has been inferred by many from the existence of habits of hoarding among various species of animals. Accordingly he examines in succession such habits as manifested among insects, birds and mammals, and comes to the conclusion that those habits are adequately accounted for as springing in most cases from nutritive needs, and, in such exceptional forms as thieving and hiding by magpies and the gifts of male terns to their incubating mates, as springing from the instincts of curiosity and reproduction. This takes up the first and longest of the three parts into which the book is divided.

PART II. deals with property rights, individual and communal, among the simpler peoples. It is, on the whole, the most interesting section, and is quite a brilliant piece of work, but it is too full of matter to be summarised. In Part I. Mr. Beaglehole has the field pretty well to himself so far as serious attempts to tackle his own special problem are concerned; but in Part II. the field is crowded. Though he is not lacking in a proper measure of self-confidence, he shows an agreeable modesty in discussing the sometimes quaint theories of his predecessors; and indeed he strikes one as being unduly respectful to the Freudian theory of the coprophil origin of the desire for gold. He might also, perhaps, have enlarged the scope of his analysis of the growth of sentiments relating to property in objects on which labour has been lavished to supplement his treatment of property in women.

In Part III. he uses the results of his discussions on the two previous sections as a basis for suggestions with regard to the psychological aspects of laws and customs of property in the more advanced communities of the present day. This part, while good as far as it goes, is chiefly interesting as holding out a hope that in the future the author will do a great deal more work in the same field. If he fulfils the promise which this book gives, that work may well be important and memorable.

A LARGE share in the credit for the whole production is obviously due to Professor Ginsberg, and he, as well as the author, has our hearty congratulations. G.S.

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**THE GARDEN OF THORNS:** by Otto Rothfield. Hutchinson & Co. 1933. (12s. 6d.)

THIS book, as its sub-title states, is "an account of Marriage, Love and Divorce as they are in the 20th Century in the principal countries of the world." The subject is discussed superficially in a wide range of aspects, psychological, social, legal, religious and economic. The author shows that no single system of marriage has been pre-eminent, and that all alike have failed to produce a full growth of ease and happiness.

**THE STREAM OF TIME: Social and Domestic Life in England, 1805-1861:** by Mrs. C. S. Peel, O.B.E. John Lane, 1931. (18s.)

MRS. PEEL says this book is neither a history nor a novel. In point of fact it is both, being the story of an imaginary family made real and true to history by the use of genuine records, letters, private papers and portraits as illustrations. The time is the first half of the 19th century: the place alternates between a Yorkshire squire's hall, a town house in London during the season, and the homes of relatives or friends in various parts of England which are visited as occasion serves. The family is cleverly linked up by kinship, marriage and friendship with many notable people of their time. We thus get them in a natural setting, speaking or writing about their ideas, experiences, and activities. The book is a mirror of social and domestic life in the England of that day. The whole is so excellently done that we have difficulty in remembering that John and Emily London are not historical characters, while at the same time they hold our interest as if they were creations of Jane Austen's pen.

JOHN LONDON, we are told, belongs to a family of rich cotton spinners distantly related to the Gurneys of Norfolk. His godfather is the first Sir Robert Peel. Here we have two useful contacts: the Peels bringing us into political and manufacturing circles, the Gurneys introducing us to the social and educational pioneers of that day. Emily, of rather better social status than her husband, comes of a good Yorkshire county family which can at least boast a Marchioness. This gives opportunity for a formal visit soon after their marriage to the Great House, one of the many small palaces of the aristocracy, and leads to introductions during the London season that admit John and Emily to public and social functions where they meet many celebrities.

THE book gives an account of the Yorkshire mansion of the early 19th century—its dreariness despite elaborate furnishing and handsome park; its domestic life in drawing room and servants' quarters; the belief in a good Providence notwithstanding the miseries of the time; and the opposition to new notions of the value of cleanliness and fresh air. With the transfer of the centre of interest from the country to London, we find new notions of many kinds changing the face of the city and the life of its inhabitants. In the early period districts like Chelsea, Brompton and Knightsbridge are outlying villages and St. John's Wood still a wood. High rents following the Napoleonic wars cause migrations from the centre to these districts, though the roads out to them were still the haunts of footpads. Visits to Yorkshire give opportunity for describing the Stage Coach, and the changes that were brought about by the coming of Railways. In the chief persons of the piece, we have portrayed the type of the progressive, ready to welcome all the changes.

It is impossible to exhaust the interesting topics treated in this book. One would like to refer to the drawing rooms of the Regency, the court life of Queen Victoria, Christmas festivities in the Squire's hall, family weddings, mining villages, factory children, the literary world, philanthropists, emancipation of women, relations of landowner with the poor on his estate, trade in the towns, the soldier's lot, Wellington's passion for eating rice and taking daily baths, the Great Exhibition, the fashion for the polka and so on. The whole makes a fascinating story. D.P.

**TWENTY THOUSAND YEARS IN SING SING:** by L. E. Lawes, Warden of Sing Sing Prison (1932, Constable, 8s. 6d.), is an account of the author's experience as a Prison official and gives his judgment (largely unfavourable) on the U.S. Prison system, with suggestions for improvement.

COMPTABILITÉ AGRICOLE, RECUEIL DE STATISTIQUES  
POUR 1928-29 (Rome, 1932, 6 liras), and THE AGRICULTURAL  
SITUATION IN 1930-31 (Rome, 1932, 6s.)

OF these two volumes issued by the International Institute of Agriculture, the latter is much the more interesting to others than specialists. It deals with market conditions, the development of the world crisis in agriculture, consequent measures taken by governments to combat the slump in prices, and the present economic conditions over a great part of the world. The commodities specially discussed include, in that order, cereals, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, wine, olive oil, textile materials, rubber, and live stock and live stock products.

THE first place is given to what may be called the tragedy of wheat. In 1930 Russia made a sudden reappearance in the market, exporting 25 million quintals of wheat, in addition to 22 million quintals of other grains. The harvest had been good, the crop of wheat was a record one, and the market was already exceptionally well provided with crops of the current year and carry over from the previous year both above the average. Hence the disastrous fall in prices, and widespread ruin among agriculturists producing wheat for the world market. Meanwhile the big crop of 1930 made possible in Russia the rapid progress achieved in the Five Year Plan of 1928-33 in the heavy industries, and encouraged the Soviet to push forward with ruthless haste the other side of that plan, the conversion of a country of small peasant holdings into one characterised by the biggest farms in the world. Apart from the creation of great state farms, the number of peasant holdings consolidated into collective farms (*Kolkhoz*) was forced up in less than two years, between 1st October, 1929, and 1st July, 1931, from 7.6 per cent. of the whole number to 55.1 per cent. The Soviets anticipated that these collective farms, equipped with tractors and all sorts of machinery, and assisted by the advice and supervision of young urban Communists trained in agricultural colleges as *agronomes*, would increase the gross output of the land enormously, and the net output in even greater measure. Actually, it is an undisputed and well known fact that the food situation has become extremely difficult, export has again ceased, and rations have been reduced. It is alleged, but denied, that there is widespread famine in extensive areas. One hears of "grain factories" in which expensive chemical manures fail to maintain the fertility of the land, while on adjoining "meat factories" farmyard manure in vast quantities runs to waste, of *kolkhoz* where superior authority requires that cabbages shall be the crop cultivated by collectivised peasants who never grew cabbages before, of tractors on other farms rusting away uselessly, while weeds grow more abundantly and luxuriously than ever. To what extent such stories really represent the facts, the world will know better next year, but already it seems certain that Stalin and his colleagues were unduly optimistic in supposing that when the habit of toiling on the land for individual profit was branded as a sin, and, if successful, punished as a crime, it would be replaced by ungrudging labour for the community as a whole.

G. S.

THE May issue of MAN gives an account of a Preliminary Conference at Basle on April 20th to 22nd, 1933, presided over by Prof. J. L. Myres, when the establishment of an International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences was discussed. After some consideration of the question of a separation of the two sections, it was finally resolved that "a single Congress should be established for Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences." It is to be held at intervals of four years, the first meeting to be held, if possible, in 1934.

AN invitation to hold the 1934 meeting in England was accepted by the Conference.



**CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE:** by Sir William Beveridge and Others.  
Allen & Unwin. 1932. (3s. 6d. net.)

THIS is a book of popularisation. It consists mainly of B.B.C. talks (with additions), and is concerned mainly with explanations and justifications of the Family Form used in the B.B.C. enquiry; there is also an attempt to show, in a simple way, how statistics are used in order to extract their meaning in social and economic studies. Of results there is very little; at the time of writing the forms had not been sufficiently studied to give more than vague impressions. Such as they were, however, the positive things that seem to have impressed Sir William most are:—

- (1) Wives have a far more *acknowledged* influence on family life and the matrimonial situation than heretofore.
- (2) In spite of all the current expressions of opinion the importance of family life as an influence on individuals is quite as great as it has ever been, and is likely, we are assured, to remain so.
- (3) Finally: to some sort of eugenic reform we are to look for the future improvement of the race.

It is perhaps in the chapter on NATURE AND NURTURE, where (3) is discussed, that the book seems most controversial: "Nature," says Sir William Beveridge, "is fixed in each individual. In the race it is not fixed; it can be changed, but substantially it can be changed in one way only—by selective breeding." This sentence seems to put the eugenic theory in a nutshell—it implies the point of view that the race can be improved by the adoption of a mental principle or ideal sanctioned by the will. It is not of course to be supposed that the idea is only thought of in so crude a form, but finally it is so expressible. The mechanization of our civilisation has produced (or been produced by?) such a will to transcend time and space that it is perhaps inevitable that the normal processes of growth, continually nourished by the lives of earnest and truth-seeking individuals, should be thought too slow and too uncertain for the progress of the race of modern man. If this is so, it seems in some way to be a pity and a mistake.

BUT the book is not written in a controversial spirit—perhaps not even in a very positive spirit (since it is primarily scientific, however popular, and therefore analytic rather than teleological) and it is a little disappointing therefore to those who are not scientists or economists that the real urge behind these discussions and studies is not made more evident. Are the problems academic only, or in what direction is it desired by the authors that the race and the family should develop? It is on the step beyond the mere discovery that we are masters of our own fates that all depends. What do we wish that fate to be?

M.R.

**SMALL LOAN LEGISLATION:** by D. J. Gallert, W. S. Hilborn and G. May (1932, New York Russell Sage Foundation, \$3.00), is a History of the regulation in U.S.A. of the business of lending small sums, by two American lawyers and one English lawyer. It is admitted that interest on such loans should be higher than for large loans, but since borrowers are often ignorant and in urgent need they may accept any terms of the lender, and therefore need legal protection. The legislation is grouped by the authors into four periods:—Early attempts, 1884–1898. Experimental period, 1898–1910. Co-ordinating period, 1910–1916, and the Era of the Uniform Small Loan Law, 1917–1932. The constitutionality of the legislation is discussed, and there is a section on the Laws regulating Wage-assignments as security for loans. The subterfuges and changes of method of the loan shark to meet legal changes are outlined and cases quoted from the Courts.

**PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION FOR SHOP AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES:** by J. Hallsworth. Harrap. (5s.)

MR. HALLSWORTH is the Industrial General Secretary of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, which is better known by its somewhat less cumbersome title, the N.U.D.A.W. He gives a clear statement of the legislation in force with regard to the hours of labour of shop assistants, closing of shops, child labour, street trading, fines, and health conditions. Such a survey is bound to be of great value to the vast numbers of workers who are employed in distributive industries and to their employers. It should help to make the former realise the penalties they pay for their comparative reluctance to combine for mutual defence. This reluctance is least apparent among the employees of co-operative societies, as is natural seeing that so many of the members of those societies are themselves members of unions or wives of trade unionists; and, in consequence, the N.U.D.A.W. has been able to secure much better conditions for them than for assistants in competing private shops, the lower conditions in the latter being the chief obstacle to further improvement in the Co-ops. Of this a typical illustration is the matter of seats in shops for female assistants, which, by legislation dating back to 1911, *must* be provided. For all practical purposes the law is a dead letter, if the seats are there, which is by no means invariably the case, as a rule the women serving in the shops dare not use them, however much they may be suffering from excessive fatigue from long hours of standing.

The chief reforms which Mr. Hallsworth advocates are the legal limitation of hours (those of young persons at present are only limited to 74 hours per week), giving a normal week of 48 hours; an earlier hour for the beginning of the weekly half-holiday; an hour off for dinner instead of three-quarters-of-an-hour; prohibition of employment of children of school age, and raising the limit of that age immediately to fifteen, and ultimately to sixteen; prohibition of fines; annual holidays with pay of not less than a fortnight; stricter control of sanitary conditions, and, above all, effective enforcement of whatever protective legislation has been, or may be, enacted, which would involve a great increase in the number of inspectors.

G. S.

**THE JEWS AND MINORITY RIGHTS:** by O. I. Janowsky, 1933, Columbia University Press (\$3.75), is an interesting contribution towards an understanding of the vexed and complicated problem of the rights of minorities. It gives an account of the efforts of Jews of Western Europe and U.S.A. to safeguard the interests of Jews in Eastern Europe, especially at the time the Minorities question was being discussed by the Paris Peace Conference. A historical survey shows that up to about the 18th Century European Jews lived largely in self-governing communities, but that since then, Western Jews have become assimilated to the general population in the countries in which they lived. In Eastern Europe, on the contrary, they still live in communities, whence arise many political and cultural difficulties. Reformers fall into three groups, "Assimilationists," "Middle Class Nationals" who support the Zionist movement, and "National Socialists" who seek "national rights" for their communities in their present habitat. The book recounts the different points of view and the consequent struggles of the Jewish protagonists, and their influence with the Treaty-making powers in Paris, leading up to the adoption of the Polish Minorities Treaty which was followed by similar settlements for other East European States. The most insistent demand of the East European Jews was for national rights in their present homesteads, and while full satisfaction was not given them, leading Jews were convinced that the Minorities Treaty had absolved the Jews of Eastern Europe from the serious disabilities from which they had so long suffered. Here the story stops, and we have no account of the way the treaties worked out in practice.

The book is of special interest in view of recent events in Germany. There is a most comprehensive bibliography.

**THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE.** Published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations. Paris. 1932.

THIS is a report of the proceedings of the first study conference of Institutions for the Study of International Relations, which was held in Milan in May, 1932, and attended by economists from Holland, France, Switzerland, Honolulu, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, Rumania, and America. Professor M. J. Bonn and Dr. Dalton acting as rapporteurs.

THE subject discussed was State interference with the conduct of business. No resolutions were proposed, but the speeches showed a definite trend of opinion. There was general agreement to the effect that post-war intensification of State control of international trade, in the form of prohibitive tariffs, prohibitions and quotas, was disastrous, but that no return to the economic policies of traditional liberalism was possible; on the other hand, that the line of progress must be sought through national planning of economic life in different states, not in hostility to others, but in collaboration with them. Italy was strongly represented, and the Italian economists practically took the lead by a strong advocacy, endorsed by the Austrians, of the "corporate" principle, which, as defined, closely resembles the "National Guilds" principle, so strongly advocated before and after the war by Oxford Socialists, but with the addendum of the participation of employers in the control of industries.

THE Conference was held in May, 1932. In view of the urgency of currency problems even then, it is curious to note that there was no discussion of the question whether States have done wisely in handing over to private bankers their ancient duties of providing legal tender money, and of maintaining standards of value. G. S.

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**THE TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS:** by Hornell Hart. (1931. New York. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.60.) The purpose of this textbook is to enable students to discover what special features in social life and history lie nearest to their interests; to give them a method enabling them to specialise fruitfully in this line; and at the same time to realise the place of their specialism in the culture pattern as a whole. The range of subject matter is so vast that exhaustive treatment of each section can hardly be expected, even in a work of nearly 700 pages. This no doubt accords with the general purpose of the book, since bibliographies and directions on points for discussion and further study are fully provided at the end of each chapter. And further, this book is intended as a complement of the author's other work, *THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL RELATIONS*, which was reviewed in *THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* for October, 1931, the two taken together giving his views of the content, method and aim of the Study of Sociology.

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*ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG* (Review of Social Research), published, in April, 1933, the first number of Volume II. It contains articles by Max Horkheimer on "Materialism and Metaphysics," Leo Löwenthal on "The Heroic Conception of History in the work of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer," Georg Rusche on "The Labour Market and the Execution of Penal Sentences," and Kurt Baumann on "Economic Self-Sufficiency and Planned Economy."

Its Review Section discusses recent publications in Philosophy, Sociology, Social Movement, Social Politics and Economics.

**WOMEN'S WORK UNDER LABOUR LAW:** Report by the International Labour Office. (P. S. King & Son. 1932. 6s.)

THIS is a survey of the protective legislation regulating the industrial employment of women in force in most of the countries which have passed such laws. To a very considerable extent the protective code is the fruit of the International Labour Conferences with which the I.L.O. is associated. This is particularly the case with regulations concerning the employment of women at night and before and after child birth, and women's labour under specially dangerous and unhealthy conditions.

It is pointed out that the need for special protection of women is based on physiological differences between the sexes which are common to all countries, but that the form which protection takes depends on the social, moral and psychological conditions in which they vary enormously. Just sufficient feeling animates the compilation to suggest that it was made by feminists for feminists; thus, for example, the conclusion emphasises the need of fuller opportunities for vocational training for women, and gives a special tribute of appreciation to the measures taken by the U.S.S.R. and Cuba to reserve work for women. It mentions special efforts in the U.S.S.R. not merely to entrust office work as far as possible exclusively to women, but also to recruit them for specially skilled work in a great variety of industrial occupations. The Commissariat of Labour in 1931 urged that 50 per cent. of the places in schools attached to metal factories, and 25 per cent. of those in schools attached to building undertakings and motor car factories, should be granted to women. Since the main object of the Soviet was to secure maximum utilisation of the available labour force, these proceedings are less significant from the point of view of feminism than the experiment of Cuba initiated by decrees of 1917 and 1922 excluding men from employment in certain occupations deemed specially suitable for women, such as the sale of articles for feminine use. This way of protecting the interests of women is, says the Report, "a method which, by ensuring them work, guarantees the dignity of women and the furtherance of social morality."

G. S.

**MISCHIEFS OF THE MARRIAGE LAW:** by J. F. Worsley-Boden. 1932. Williams & Norgate. (21s.). Here we have a book drawn chiefly from English experience. It seeks to establish three positions, firstly, that the State Marriage Laws retain injustices traceable to their ecclesiastical origin, secondly, that reforms so far, cannot be described as more than half-measures, and thirdly, that the demand for reform is not made by fanatical revolutionaries, but is the desire of a great multitude. A scheme of reform of the law is presented, directed towards securing that no divorce can ultimately be prevented, but guarded so that desire for divorce on trivial grounds would commonly be deflected. There is a strong indictment of the rôle of the Church, and especially its insistence on making adultery the sole grounds for divorce. There is here clear evidence of the strength of tradition, which prevents the law-abiding Englishman from challenging measures which derive from long centuries of imported ecclesiastical authority. "Permanent union is the ideal. Experience shows that the rule of indissolubility promotes illicit unions; but a well-regulated system of divorce will strengthen the stability of marriage." While the book is, in the main, a legal treatise, there is much of interest to the social student.

**ADAM FERGUSSON AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY:** by W. C. Lehmann. (1930. Columbia University Press. \$4.25.) An analysis of the sociological elements in his writings, with suggestions as to his place in the history of social theory. No complete originality is claimed for Fergusson, nor that he seriously attempted a "system" of sociology, but rather that he drew attention to the meaning of Society in a way essentially new, appreciating its organic nature and developing the concept of division of labour in society in a way that remarkably anticipated later writers.



**UNEMPLOYMENT AND PLENTY:** by S. N. Braysshaw, 1933, Allen and Unwin (1s. 6d.), is the Swarthmore Lecture, 1933. It tells us how the application of science to industry has culminated in an economic system in which the powers of production have outstripped capacity to distribute the product, and which therefore turns back on and strangles the productive machine itself. The process is brought up to date by reference to the "rationalisation" of industry in the last decade, which has intensified the discrepancy, causing the discharge of "surplus" workers. The provision of a limited dole to meet the barest needs of idle breadwinners, is insufficient to purchase the increasing output of wealth, and unemployment with Plenty results. With this picture however, we are, unfortunately, only too familiar. The book rightly insists that palliatives are not enough. It is sound in attributing some of the responsibility to a philosophy of "work," an economic and psychological relic from a time when such an attitude had more justification, and urges an exploration of a new possibility which Plenty has brought, namely, how to organise for leisure. It points out the lack of understanding of the "tangled skein," as indicated by disagreement amongst the experts, but beyond pleas for a change of spirit, no proposal for the emendation of the system is advocated.

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**THE PRESIDENT'S RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL TRENDS:** Review of Findings: 1933, Research Committee on Social Trends, sums up in 70 pages the report of 1,663 pages, of an investigation initiated by President Hoover in 1929. There are 29 subjects of enquiry, made by scientific specialists, covering such topics as Population, Communications, Education, The Family, Labour Groups, Health, Law and Public Administration, Rural Life, Changing Social Attitudes and Interests, &c., &c.

THERE is a bewildering variety of inter-related social changes, and the time-lag among correlated changes often brings maladjustment. The remedy is in conscious control and the report emphasises the need for social thinking, and research, concluding that at present, fact finding agencies predominate while the next phase of advance may turn more on interpretation and synthesis. They find a growing interest in provision and planning. While tradition, habit, inertia are very powerful, conscious intelligence is certainly a strong social force. The interweaving of social institutions with the innermost impulses of human action is recognised, and that a clarification of human values is a major task of social thinking.

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**MARRIAGE, CHILDREN AND GOD:** by Claud Mullins. Allen & Unwin. 1933. (6s.)

A BOOK by a London magistrate with a preface by a bishop and a quotation from the King as introduction—is not likely to suggest revolutionary change, and the point of view here taken may be described as enlightened orthodoxy. It is written largely to urge the dispelling of the prevailing ignorance in matters of sexual relationship and to advocate contraceptive methods of birth control on social grounds, i.e., that no child should be born unless it is wanted and can be given a satisfactory up-bringing. This view, it is held, is not in conflict with essential Christianity though the opposition of the Church has been the cause of much misunderstanding and misery. The teachings of various sections of the Church are given, and it is shown that many are now in agreement with the views of the author, who declares that "the churches are now called, not to pronounce on the advisability of contraception, but to decide whether it is not their duty to spread knowledge about it, to teach its necessity themselves, and to do all that they can to guard against its abuse." A number of suggestions are given for changes in the procedure of the Police and Divorce Courts.

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**A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF WYE:** edited by H. E. Muhlfeld. (1933. Columbia University Press. \$4.00.) In this book, a survey made about the middle of the 15th century is reproduced in its entirety. The manors of the County of Kent, in which Wye is situated, were exceptional, and this particular survey is filled out with great detail. Study of surveys of this kind is necessary in order to establish how far it is possible to speak of a manorial "system." There is a full discussion in an introduction of 60 pages, and other surveys are used for comparison and for a better understanding of the text. The differences between manorial customs in Kent and in the rest of England offer an interesting problem for study. The book gives a useful bibliography.

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

### SHEFFIELD SOCIAL SURVEY COMMITTEE. Survey Pamphlets.

No. 6. A SURVEY OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE IN SHEFFIELD: prepared by A. D. K. Owen. 1933. (6d.)

No. 8. A SURVEY OF TRANSPORT IN SHEFFIELD: prepared by A. G. Pool. 1933. (6d.)

No. 6 reports on an enquiry made during 1930 and 1931 into the after-school history of 500 boys and 500 girls who left the primary schools of Sheffield in October 1927, with data from the 1931 Census so far as it relates to boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18. Information is given on occupations and how they are secured; wages and hours; unemployment; and the use of leisure. Unfortunately the investigation was made at a time of trade depression.

No. 8 gives a historical account of development from the days of the packhorse. The statistics are interpreted to bring out the present situation and the problems which have arisen through the advance of motor transport. The relative values of motor, tramway and railway receive attention, and some of the social consequences of recent changes are indicated.

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF MODERN PROBLEMS: by H. J. Fleure. (1932. Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth 2s., Paper 1s.) Prof. Fleure describes the incidence and importance of geographical features in human development and shows their relation to differences of life and outlook between one nation and another. Hence, where knowledge of conditions is lacking, mutual misunderstandings arise which seriously complicate international problems. As an example, geographical factors have done much to make England an industrial and France an agricultural country, and therefore to influence the English desire for markets and widespread international communication and commerce, as against the French desire for internal security. The importance of these differences of attitude, in the modern world, is obvious. The book outlines the growth of village and city life in Europe, the expansion of Europe, modern problems in the Far East, and geographical factors in differences of racial and social types. This small book is a welcome addition to the W.E.A. Outlines.

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THE POOR STUDENT AND THE UNIVERSITY: compiled by L. Doreen Whiteley (1933, Allen & Unwin, 6s.), is a report on the Scholarship System prepared for the Stapley Trust to supplement their survey of 1924. There is an excellent introduction by Sir Percy Alden and many statistics are given dealing with the Universities of England, Scotland and Wales, the sources from which they receive their students, and the difficulties met with by Elementary and Secondary School students in climbing the educational ladder. The provision made for scholarships, &c., out of public funds, both national and local, are fully described, as well as details of awards made from charitable trusts and foundations. The book is invaluable for those who have to advise students on the possibilities of higher education. But there is matter for reflection in the obstacles to be overcome by the seeker. In 1931 4,333 candidates competed for 300 State scholarships. What happened to the unsuccessful 4,000?

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CITY BOSSES IN THE UNITED STATES: by Harold Zink (1930, Cambridge University Press, 18s. od.), gives the life story of twenty prominent municipal bosses. It discusses the qualities that go to make a city boss and finds no "typical" boss. Bosses possess the physical, mental and moral variations of men in general. Most of the twenty grew up in poor circumstances, with little schooling, though three graduated. Half of them were Roman Catholics. The quest for gold is well to the fore, but one is described as "free from overwhelming love for material profit," and another "sought to gratify a passion for approbation." The problem would appear to be how such a career is likely to meet toleration rather than approbation, and a chapter on the attitude of the public to "bossdom," with an explanation of their acquiescence in it, would have been enlightening.

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LIMEY: by James Spenser (1933, Longmans, Green & Co., 10s. 6d.), is the story told by himself of an Englishman who joined the gangs in America after early experience in Borstall and Dartmoor. He describes the gangster world from the inside, where it is strictly understood that guns are for use and not for ornament. This life as an enemy of society brought him to the inside of San Quentin Penitentiary, where even within the walls gangster activities continued.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**REPORT OF A RESEARCH INTO THE ATTITUDES AND HABITS OF RADIO LISTENERS:** by A. Kirkpatrick, 1933, Webb Book Publishing Co., St. Paul, Minn. (\$1.50.), provides interesting results through a questionnaire of radio users in Minneapolis. Mean listening hours of selected groups vary from 12 to 24 per week, the middle class being highest. With many, there is definite objection to radio advertising, which is important in America, where advertised goods bear the cost of the broadcasting system. The effect of the radio on Church, Theatre, and Concert-going, is not very pronounced, but in all three cases reduces it somewhat. The report includes an analysis of broadcasting time given to various types of programme. It is a useful and suggestive booklet.

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**THE LAKE CARGO COAL RATE CONTROVERSY:** by H. C. Mansfield. 1932. Columbia University Press. (\$4.25.) In a country where distances are reckoned by thousands of miles, Railway rates may decide the possibility of development of resources and hence the economic life and fortunes of whole communities. This book studies 25 years of controversy between Pittsburgh and West Virginia to decide rates of freightage of coal from these areas to a common market via Lake Erie, with a view to ascertaining the efficacy of governmental adjustments of Sectional disputes. The Interstate Commerce Acts give powers of regulation to a Commission, and its success as a pacifier of conflict is here discussed.

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**WHY HAVE DELINQUENTS?** by K. J. Scudder and K. S. Beam, 1933, Rotary Club of Los Angeles (20 cents), asks and answers many questions about methods and agencies for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, and describes the Los Angeles County Plan of co-ordinating Councils. It gives statistics of Juvenile Court Cases and much general information on Los Angeles experience.

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## LE PLAY HOUSE NOTES AND NEWS.

**MONTHLY DISCUSSION MEETINGS.** The series of monthly discussion meetings for the summer term has now been completed. A new series will begin in the Autumn, the dates and times of which will be announced later. These meetings are open free to members. Others interested are admitted on application and may obtain particulars of the Autumn series from Le Play House.

**FIELD STUDY MEETINGS.** As already announced the main Field Study Meeting this summer will be held in the Orkneys from 1st to 21st August. The headquarters will be at Kirkwall, but many of the outlying areas will be visited. The natural features, agriculture, history and social life of the Orkneys will be studied, and the contrast with conditions in the Shetlands will be worked out so far as possible.

A visit to Normandy in the early part of September is under consideration in order to continue and develop the Channel Islands studies begun during the recent Jersey and Guernsey meetings.

ALL wishing to take part in these meetings should write as soon as possible to the Institute of Sociology, Le Play House, 65 Belgrave Road, S.W.1.

**STUDY GROUP FOR SOCIAL WORKERS.** This group which meets regularly at Le Play House has now completed its work for the present session, and a note of conclusions on the effects of unemployment on family life (as illustrated by cases known to members of the group) has been drawn up and agreed. It is hoped to recommence meetings in the Autumn. Anyone interested may obtain particulars from the Hon. Secretary of the Group, Miss Muriel Wells, 48 Redcliffe Square, S.W.

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## TOWARDS AN AGREED BASIS IN SOCIOLOGY.

ON Friday, 16th June, at the rooms of the Westminster Branch, British Red Cross Society, Mr. Gustave Spiller read a paper with the above-mentioned title, with Prof. Morris Ginsberg in the chair. The paper is printed at p. 159. Eleven members and friends sent written contributions to the discussion. The main points in these were :—

**DR. R. R. MARETT:** It seems to be a quite gratuitous assumption that from "late eolithic" times onwards Man's congenital capacity has been a more or less fixed quality. By the way, does Neanderthal man count as our equal in this respect? For I note that Mr. Spiller by classing Aurignacian man as Middle Paleolithic—surely a slip—would ignore his claim to parity of treatment altogether. Nor do I quite see why the momentous mutation that rendered our race once for all infinitely socializable should be dated so precisely between early eolithic and late eolithic times—more especially as no archaeologist except Mr. Reid Moir could distinguish the one type of highly debatable artefact from the other. On the other hand some such decisive mutation is presumably postulated as having launched our ancestor on his distinctively human career; since otherwise the argument for equal educability might be extended to prehuman types until we were asked to consider the possible effects of a University education on the *amœba*. Yet, granted that a mutation occurred in late-eolithic times, why did the process of variation stop there? Is it not at least arguable that the race-making force that gives us the White, Yellow and Black types is of the same order, so that no cross-breeding can bring about a satisfactory equilibration as between such disparate and incompatible characters.

So much for *a priori* grounds of objection to so one-sided an advocacy of the biological equipollence of all human types. As for the *a posteriori* evidence here offered as to the educability of Tasmanian or Australian aborigines as compared with White colonists, I can attribute no value whatever to the sweeping statements of school-teachers or school-inspectors who can offer no kind of scientific proofs of what they



allege. I have myself been concerned with education in a place where all sorts and conditions of young men and women are to be met with, and am on the contrary impressed with the wide differences to be observed between them, not so much perhaps in respect to mere thinking-power, as in respect to character and the total reaction to what they are offered in the way of culture.

- DR. GILBERT SLATER: 1. There seems no reason to suppose that the evolutionary processes which produced Neanderthal man from the "primitive protoplasmic atomic globule" do not operate also on "homo sapiens." Though their operation is ordinarily slow, it is not always or necessarily exceedingly slow. I believe it is agreed that "mutations" occur, and also some species (probably homo sapiens in particular), are much more variable than others (e.g., the superior average mental ability of Jews seems probably attributable to special struggle for survival).
2. PROGRESS is both inevitable and limitless—yes, provided retrogression and deterioration are included under "progress."
3. I AM myself inclined to believe that there is loss as well as gain in education, that when by training we develop certain mental powers that gain is to a certain extent at the cost of other mental powers. This, I think, is specially true of the education given in schools. H. G. Wells' tramp in "The Wonderful Visit" was not altogether unjustified in comparing it to the pithing of frogs.

FOR some years we kept two runner ducks. They were remarkably different in mentality, the innate intelligence of Jemina appeared to be about 3 to 1 as compared with Jane's.

DR. CHARLES E. ELLWOOD: I substantially agree with Mr. Spiller's paper suggesting the possibility of an agreed basis in sociology. There is no chance for agreement among sociologists, as I see it, until they agree to base human sociology upon the qualities in man which differentiate him from all other animals. As man is the only culture-producing animal, this means that practically human sociology must be based upon the fact of human culture. But the culture of human groups, as Mr. Spiller points out, is the result of an inter-learning process. Human social evolution is controlled by the development of culture, and the development of culture proceeds through the process of learning. As culture is spread by inter-learning the development of culture produces, in effect, a collective learning process. As soon as sociologists perceive that human social development is controlled by collective learning processes, all the scientific superstitions which have been connected with sociology will drop away.

SOCIOLOGISTS will perceive that social changes depend upon human knowledge and the appreciation of values. Physical and organic analogies and determinisms will drop away; rationally planned social progress along every line of culture will be seen to be not a utopian dream, but a scientific possibility. Finally, if the development of culture proceeds by inter-learning and the learning of groups, then it follows that all human beings who have normal capacity to learn can participate in the highest civilisation that can be produced by man.

MR. RENNIE SMITH: I cannot pretend to criticise the main outlines of the paper—that must be left in the hands of scholars who devote their lives to this branch of study. Mr. Spiller has, however, lighted on two great instruments of social interpretation.

I SHOULD be less dogmatic than he is about the sources of personality and personal power and abilities. It does not seem to me impossible that here a large formative body of "mind" phenomena are involved which do not "belong" to this planet and of which the "sun" may serve as symbol in interplanetary energy which we usually describe as "physical."

THIS is a tentative way of saying that I am not sure Mr. Spiller can explain individuals and therefore, society by the two instruments he proposes to us. This is not, I think, to introduce a third principle of interpretation (though I am not sure of this). And certainly it is not to discourage in any way the fullest possible exploration of the two instruments on which Mr. Spiller has laid his hands.

DR. LEOPOLD VON WIESE: I should like to raise two points for discussion.

1. WHETHER the natural intellectual faculties of individuals have really not grown considerably beyond those of the men of the later stone age, and
2. WHETHER the capacity of man to learn from his own experience and that of others may be looked at simply as a factor in progress, or whether in certain circumstances it does not produce an obstacle to higher culture.

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

If we answer the first question in Mr. Spiller's form we reach the conclusion that individual man is almost without development and remains throughout time and space substantially the same. Progress of all kinds, therefore, belongs solely to the sphere of human interrelations—to social space in fact; but since the activities of mankind in social space are becoming ever more complicated and more difficult to grasp is it not fair to conclude—on the ground of his boundless capacity for education—that man's natural intelligence must have undergone a parallel development.

As for the second point; capacity for learning can be placed at the service of vice and degradation as well as used for the promotion of good works. It can in fact lead to the destruction of culture as well as to its promotion. If we take it—adopting Mr. Spiller's optimistic view—that it gives mankind an open and permanent way of progress—I believe that we cannot merely through this capacity for learning be guided to a definitely established state of perfection.

MR. W. J. GIBSON: 1. The power of "learning from others" whilst an important social factor, is only one, and perhaps ultimately not the most important, of the elements of personality. What of individual originality, the pioneering power that breaks through the ring of the social tradition, that impresses itself forcibly on the environment? Does human-kind not owe much of its progress to this? Even granting that to some extent "the genius" cannot flower without the spirit of his age to aid him, why did Elizabethan England give us only one Shakespeare, and the physics of the later 17th Century only one Newton? Why was Mendel forty years ahead of the biology of his time? If these profound differences (the value of which for social advance must be admitted) appear in individuals of the same age and culture can they be otherwise than innate? There is nothing against the teaching of biology in such a view. If mutations count for so much in the development of organisms why deny them a role in the development of the mental and other abilities of human beings?

2. THE importance of "inter-learning" as a social factor being admitted, ought there not to be equal mention of its correlative, inter-teaching—the ability and willingness to convey to other individuals the available knowledge and method? Surely this has much to do with human progress.
3. WHY restrict learning to learning *from others*, since this is only one, though probably the most obvious, of several modes of acquiring knowledge? We are constantly learning from animals, from plants, from the material world and the forces at work on it.

REV. J. C. PRINGLE: Though not present I should like to join in the chorus of hearty welcome to this very fine effort which has laid every one of us under a deep debt of gratitude. We must all of us feel compelled to give a very large measure of acceptance and agreement, even where we may differ here and there in minor details: while these disagreements would probably disappear were we all in possession of the contents of Mr. Spiller's volume *THE ORIGIN OF MAN*.

LACKING knowledge of that volume and only knowing the paper now before us we are some of us naturally a little uncertain at times as to the *presuppositions, criteria* for judgment, and comparative *values* hinted at in this paper but no doubt fully explicit in the volume, e.g., paragraph 17a, by what coefficient of measurement is Lester Ward found to be "tens of millions of times superior to any animal?" Dean Swift would unquestionably have found him *inferior* to any well bred horse or dog. Clearly, Mr. Spiller and the Dean are using two very different measuring sticks (cf. also 1: 30 millions in par. 6). Mr. Spiller admits setbacks in progress from eolithic culture, and no doubt in his volume he disposes of these at length. Doubtless he deals there with Oswald Spengler's work: with Petrie's *REVOLUTIONS OF CIVILISATION*: e.g., no doubt he explains why 4,000 years of interlearning has not enabled any artist or craftsman to surpass or even rival the cup of Vapheion, or 6,000 years enabled the worker in stone to surpass, if he equals, his Egyptian forerunner. No doubt he deals with the theory that the fellaheen of 10,000 years ago based their party agricultural toil on the kind of abstract mathematical calculations which the first pyramid later flashed to them each dawn, a feat of which no one would suspect the fellaheen of Egypt to-day.

TURNING to the physician's craft he will have noticed the doubt thrown by Lord Horder in his address to the London Society of Medicine on May 8th, 1933, on much that passes for medical progress to-day: likewise the view put forward by Dr. Millais Culpin (*Lancet*, Dec., 1931) that Medicine has witnessed changes of fashion only, but at no date since has any firmer grasp of the fundamentals of its subject matter than was possessed by Hippocrates.

MR. DONALD R. KITCHIN: 1. My simple-minded question is this: I can see the need for, and the utility of, the social sciences—economics, politics, ethics, psychology and all—and I appreciate the value of attempts to construct a philosophy of history (such as that of Marx), but what is the need for, and the utility of, a subject focussing upon each of these sciences from *this* particular point of view? That question may be easy to answer, but at least it concentrates attention on the fundamental problem of finding an agreed basis for Sociology. Mr. Spiller's paper either assumes that the question is answered or evades the issue, and is concerned simply with the exposition of a theory in biological evolution, doubtless of considerable value in itself.

CANNOT the sociologist be prevailed upon to indulge the whims of the simple-minded reader and to eschew the use of such terms as "socio-contemporaneous," "societal," "vertiginous"? And will he not vouchsafe to the simple-minded a less vague idea of the meaning of that "late-colithic order" upon which his theory is built?

2. As a social policy, Equalitarianism is prepared to admit that Haldane is right in talking of the Biological *Inequality* of man. Biological equality or inequality is irrelevant. Prof. Ginsberg has shown that to justify inequality of environment it is necessary to prove that such inequalities of personal ability and quality are *relevant* to them. Equalitarianism admits that individuals differ infinitely in character and capacity and wants people to have the chance of becoming more so. What it demands is simply that different people should be given equal consideration—in Tawney's definition, "Equality of environment, and circumstance and opportunity." It is the democratic method of approach towards the classless society of the future.

MR. P. J. HUGHESDON: Even should it be fully established that instinct is exactly alike in all members of the same race—I use the term "race" in a general sense—yet in other respects it is possible, I should say, that animals differ, relatively at least, as much as men. Further, the distinctively human features in the human brain are both a late and, if we may judge from their fruits, a unique acquisition and on both grounds we should, I think, admit the possibility of exceptional variability. And it is quite conceivable that civilised conditions, even the most primitive, may influence powerfully if indirectly the chromosome tissue in ways leading to exceptionally frequent and extensive mutation, Mendelian or other. Whether the human cortex has been a subject of comparative study I do not know; the study of course could usually be made only in the case of those recently dead, and important differences here might be difficult or impossible to detect.

THE author's contention—if I rightly understand him—that every individual is within almost negligible limits and potentially a super-Plato, super-Shakespeare, super-Napoleon and in fact a limitless super-Genius seems to me, even on the supposition that the personal element here is almost entirely social acquisition and assimilation, to remove man yet further from the animal world than do current opinions on the matter and so to involve a special difficulty for biology from the point of view of evolution. And the evidence from psychology and sociology is, I think, similarly inconclusive. That aboriginal children at a primary school should show themselves equal to the children of European settlers certainly suggests that racial inequality has been overestimated, but does not disprove such inequality. Even if the aboriginals should have been in no sense selected there are other points to be considered. Possibly they had more awe of and respect for their white teachers and had fewer distracting interests.

AGAIN, I do not see how the author's view that the personal contribution in Shakespeare's achievement was minute can be made to accord with the intensely personal and Shakespearean character of that achievement, though possibly he might explain this character on the analogy of a chemical compound. I would suggest too that differences in education, opportunity, &c., while they differentiate achievement, may often conceal innate difference—that it was for instance the inadequacy of these factors, joined with a fierce and overpowering social inhibition, that in the past by repressing the innate aptitudes of women made them all appear equally and homogeneously unequal to the higher achievements of men.

MANY again would say that uniqueness, the feature that distinguishes one individual essentially from another, is the core of personality, which, especially in outstanding examples, is the best and highest thing in civilisation, and while in part the outcome of the individual's self-determined efforts, is also in part a native endowment. If the author should be right, not only is such an opinion entirely mistaken, but the reality of all human values is I think, in some degree discredited.

DR. JULIE MOSCHELES AND PROF. FR. ULRICH : Still we should consider whether the inter-learning factor is really a privilege of *homo sapiens*. We know extremely little about the brain-life of animals, especially of animals in their natural state and unspoiled by man. It does not seem at all unlikely that there exists quite a lot of inter-learning among animals : the baby swallows are really taught how to fly. Young herbivores seem to learn which plants are poisonous. A puppy watching an older dog begging for a lump of sugar, soon tried and succeeded in standing up on its hindlegs. An untutored parrot learns from its talking fellow bird whose cleverness is rewarded with cake. There is inter-learning among animals.

THE contributions of the individual factor may be small in man, but only thanks to this individual factor an ever-growing material is furnished to the inter-learning factor. What to us seems to distinguish *homo sapiens* from the animal seems to be just the fact that there is more to learn and that the number of notions and achievements to be acquired by the inter-learning factor is for ever increasing. The individual imaginative and therefore creative factor is providing the facts which are acquired by the imitative inter-learning factor.

WE do not underrate the inter-individual and inter-group factor of change and advance, but it should not be overlooked that the importance of human interrelations is founded on the values produced by the individual factor. It is in keeping with this that human interrelations gain in importance with the growth of culture, of communicable goods.

IN the discussion that followed, to which Miss Alice Raven, Mr. Walton, Mr. Waldegrave, Dr. Scott Williamson, Dr. Glaister, and others contributed, the main questions raised were :—the influence of heredity, the lack of unity in the results of the interlearning process, and the place of less conscious elements in that process. Dr. Ginsberg, in summing up the discussion, pointed out that Mr. Spiller's argument did not stand or fall with the admission of racial or inherited factors, as the point of importance was whether these factors correlated with any of the results of the interlearning process.

MR. SPILLER made a short reply and has since contributed the following note on some of the points raised in the discussion.

FOUR arguments more especially have been advanced against the proposed basis. The first is that such and such "facts" disprove that mentally human beings are virtually equal by nature. The second, that the inborn mental status of man is fixed far too low in this paper. The third, that the evidence for the new basis is inadequate. And the fourth, that it is pedantic to seek to define too closely man's innate mental status and variability.

As for the first argument, it will be found that the "facts" adduced in criticism are almost invariably unsifted (and therefore scientifically inadmissible) surmises capable of a different interpretation (inter-learning, practice, &c.), and never, in the author's opinion, approach conclusiveness. As for the second, it suffices to state that if we imagined man's innate mental status raised from the Late-Eolithic to the Chellean, Acheulean, Mousterian, or even—quite unjustifiably—to the earliest Aurignacian level, all our general conclusions, owing to par. 13, would still hold. As for the third, it may be remarked that the evidence submitted in this paper has been most scrupulously sifted and repeatedly re-sifted, but that at first even the most impeccable proofs tend to appear seriously inadequate to those whose deeply-rooted preconceptions they challenge. As for the last argument, it is overlooked that the undefined inequality well-meaningly insisted on, often covers the result of generations, centuries, or ages of cultural growth, fails to allow for the influence of the inter-learning factor which, as shown, is emphatically the single cause of the vast mental differences in mankind, and makes a science of Sociology impossible by refusing to break up human experience into its elementary constituents.

WITH regard to most other objections the author has seen, he suggests that these would never have been made if the critics had disposed of sufficient time to examine the paper carefully.

To generalise. Would it be fair to discard a basis so manifestly consonant with imperative scientific demands (and certainly elaborated with infinite solicitude for strict objectivity) because it does not agree with views of human nature which are evidently no more grounded in winnowed experience than were the pre-Copernican and pre-Darwinian views? Surely, a basis which has sought to profit by a century of sociological labours and promises so much, should be examined on its merits and should not be naively required to harmonise with hoary popular beliefs founded on surface appearances and utterly incompatible with a scientific outlook in Sociology.



**SUMMER REUNION.** The Annual Summer Reunion this year took the form of an all-day visit to Maidenhead, on Saturday, 1st July, at the suggestion of Miss R. A. Pennethorne and with the co-operation of members of the Maidenhead Rotary Club.

The journey was made by motor coach from Victoria and gave a view of the rapid post-war development of industry and housing in the Thames Valley west of London. On arrival at the Guildhall, Maidenhead, the party was introduced by Alderman L. R. F. Oldershaw to the Mayor, who welcomed the group and expressed his interest in any sociological study of the town and its surroundings, drawing attention to the recently proposed town plan. Mr. Waldegrave thanked the Mayor on behalf of the Institute. After light refreshments Mr. Oldershaw took charge, with Dr. Thomson, of the group and proved to be a most capable and sympathetic leader and guide. Visits were paid to Taplow Court (by kind permission of Lord Desborough) to see the Saxon Mound and the gardens and grounds with the remarkable views over the Thames Valleys; to Cookham and Great Marlow, and thence through charming beechwood country to Maidenhead Thicket where picnic lunch was taken. The next visit was to Ockwells Manor where Sir Edward Barry received the group and showed the chief rooms in this wonderful example of fifteenth century building; this was followed by a short call at Jesus Hospital to see the quadrangle and gardens. Returning to Maidenhead the party was met by the Borough Surveyor and visited examples of slum clearance and post-war municipal housing. After tea at the Crown Hotel there was an opportunity of seeing more of the river and the town, and the return journey was completed about 7 o'clock. The success of the day was very largely due to the arrangements made by friends resident in Maidenhead, and chiefly to Mr. Oldershaw and Dr. Thomson who, as Rotarians, already knew and valued the work of Le Play House.

The Field Study Meeting in Guernsey took place at Easter as arranged. The meeting and a preliminary visit to Jersey from Good Friday to Easter Monday were very successful. A full account is held over for lack of space.

#### EDUCATION CIRCLE.

At the meeting on May 17th Mrs. Clements (formerly U.S.A.) spoke on "The Family as Partner in Education" and a summary of her address appears elsewhere in this issue. In the discussion which followed Mr. Gould said the mother was now rather outside education, and teachers were often a little scornful of her. Comte's idea was that the child should be in the care of the mother until the age of 14, though he approved of the Kindergarten system at its introduction. He thought the working-class mother had love, sympathy and knowledge of children. The stages of education should be from the moral, and the æsthetic, the intellectual or scientific, and the civic and practical. Mr. Gould thought that all parents should respect children as adults respect each other.

MR. BROUGHTON suggested groups of families living in one building with communal dining rooms, &c. There would then be more people for children to come into contact with, and they would find their place, and get rid of their inferiority complex.

MRS. BOOTH thought the inferiority complex was caused by lack of money. Economic conditions were the problem, and she could not see what mothers could do until poverty had gone.

MR. YUSUF ALI asked what was happening to the family to-day. An enquiry into this was being carried on in U.S.A., and in Russia the family's influence was lessened. In the development of the family is involved the relationship of the sexes and the development of the State.

MISS WHITE thought it important that the family should not be regarded as something apart from the school—not even as complementary to it for that implies that the one supplies what the other omits. The family and the school should have the same influence and the same aims—to fit the young for service in after life.

At the meeting on July 5th Mr. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M., will give an address on "Should Education reflect Environment?"

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Brayshaw (S. N.). UNEMPLOYMENT AND PLENTY. Allen & Unwin. (1s. 6d.)  
 Bühler (Karl). DIE ARBEITSLOSEN VON MARIENTHAL. S. Hirzel, Leipsig.  
 Carington (Whately). THE DEATH OF MATERIALISM. Allen & Unwin. (10s.)  
 Cove-Smith (R.), Hobbs (Jack), etc. IS IT WRONG TO GAMBLE? S.C.M. (1s.)  
 Cresson (A.). LE PROBLÈME MORALE ET LES PHILOSOPHES. Armand Colin, Paris.  
 (10 fr. 50.)  
 Dawson (Christopher). ENQUIRIES INTO RELIGION AND CULTURE. Sheed & Ward.  
 (8s. 6d.)  
 Elwin (Verrier). TRUTH ABOUT INDIA. Allen & Unwin. (1s.)  
 Epstein (Abraham). INSECURITY.—A CHALLENGE TO AMERICA. Harrison-Smith and  
 Robert Haas, New York. (\$4.00.)  
 Glover (E.). WAR, SADISM AND PACIFISM. Allen & Unwin. (3s. 6d.)  
 Grassberger (R.). GEWERBS-UND BERUFSVERBRECHERTUM. Julius Springer, Vienna.  
 (R.M. 15.40.)  
 Hall (F. S.). SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK.—1933. Russell Sage Foundation. (\$4.00.)  
 Hecker (Julius). MOSCOW DIALOGUES. Chapman & Hall. (8s. 6d.)  
 James (H.). AMERICAN CIVIC ANNUAL. Vol. II. American Civic Association,  
 Washington. (\$3.00.)  
 Jevons (H. S.). ECONOMIC EQUALITY IN THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.  
 Methuen. (10s. 6d.)  
 Marett (R. R.). SACRAMENTS OF SIMPLE FOLK. Oxford Press. (10s.)  
 Mansfield (H. C.). THE LAKE CARGO COAL RATE CONTROVERSY. P. S. King.  
 (\$4.25.)  
 Mühlfeld (H. E.). A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF WYE. P. S. King. (\$4.00.)  
 Mullins (C.). MARRIAGE, CHILDREN AND GOD. Allen & Unwin. (6s.)  
 Newsholme (H. P.). EVOLUTION AND REDEMPTION. Williams & Norgate. (8s. 6d.)  
 Owen (A. D. K.). A SURVEY OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE IN SHEFFIELD.  
 J. W. Northend, Sheffield. (6d.)  
 Perry (C. A.). THE WORK OF THE LITTLE THEATRES. Russell Sage Foundation,  
 New York. (\$1.50.)  
 Pool (A. G.). A SURVEY OF TRANSPORT IN SHEFFIELD. J. W. Northend, Sheffield.  
 (6d.)  
 Pringle (Rev. J. C.). THE NATION'S APPEAL TO THE HOUSEWIFE AND HER RESPONSE.  
 Longmans, Green & Co. (2s. 6d.)  
 Ranulf (S.). THE JEALOUSY OF THE GODS AND CRIMINAL LAW AT ATHENS. Vol. I.  
 Williams & Norgate.  
 Rugarli (S.). L'INCIVILIMENTO. Tipografia Luganese, Lugano.  
 Scudden (K. J.) and Beam (K. S.). WHY HAVE DELINQUENTS? Rotary Club of  
 Los Angeles. (20 cents.)  
 Sjögren (T.). KILÉNISCHE UND VERERBUNGSMEDIZINISCHE. Levin. 2. Munksgaard,  
 Copenhagen.  
 Spencer (M.). BUILDING ON SAND. S.C.M. (1s.)  
 Steinberg (W.). DIE SEELISCHE EINGLIEDERUNG IN DIE GESELLSCHAFT. Ernst  
 Reinhardt. Munich. (R.M. 3.40.)  
 Todd (A.). INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY. Henry Holt, New York. (\$3.75.)  
 Wilenski (R. H.). JOHN RUSKIN. AN INTRODUCTION TO FURTHER STUDY OF HIS  
 LIFE AND WORK. Faber & Faber. (15s.)

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- Institut International de Co-opération Intellectuelle, Paris. ENTRETIENS SUR  
 GOETHE.  
 President's Conference on House Building, &c. Washington. GENERAL INDEX.  
 Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, Phil. UNMARRIED MOTHERS IN THE MUNI-  
 CIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA.  
 University of Florida. GUIDE TO THE LAWS OF FLORIDA AFFECTING CHILD WELFARE.  
 (25 cents.)  
 Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education. DEVELOPING ATTITUDES  
 IN CHILDREN.

# PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

ABERYSTWYTH STUDIES . . . . .	Vol. XII.
ACTA ACADEMIAE ABOENSIS . . . . .	1932 VIII.
AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW . . . . .	Mar.
AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY . . . . .	Mar.-May
ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY . . . . .	Mar.-May
ARCHIV FÜR SOCIALWISSENSCHAFT UND SOZIAL POLITIK . . . . .	Vol. 68, Pt. 3
ARCHIVIO DI STUDI CORPORATIVI . . . . .	Vol. 3, No. 4 ; Vol. 4, No. 1
ASIATIC REVIEW . . . . .	Apr.
BULLETIN DE LA STATISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FRANCE . . . . .	Mar.
BULLETIN DU CENTRE EUROPÉEN DE LA DOTATION CARNEGIE . . . . .	1932 : No. 7, 8
CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY . . . . .	Mar.
CHARITY ORGANISATION QUARTERLY . . . . .	Apr.
COMMONWEALTH . . . . .	Feb.
COUNCIL FOR THE PRESERVATION OF RURAL ENGLAND . . . . .	Vol. II., No. 1, 2
EUGENICS REVIEW . . . . .	Apr.
ECONOMICA . . . . .	May
ECONOMIC JOURNAL . . . . .	Mar.-June
ECONOMIC HISTORY . . . . .	Jan.
ECONOMIC RECORD . . . . .	Dec.
GEOGRAPHY . . . . .	Mar.-June
GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW . . . . .	Apr.
HEADWAY . . . . .	Apr.-May-June
HIGHWAY . . . . .	Apr.
HINDUSTAN REVIEW . . . . .	Jan.
INFORMATION BULLETIN OF THE INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION ORGANISATION . . . . .	Dec.-Jan.
INDIAN MAGAZINE . . . . .	Mar.-Apr.-May-June
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW . . . . .	Mar.-Apr.-May
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION . . . . .	Jan.-Feb.-Mar.-Apr.
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURE . . . . .	Feb.-Mar.-Apr.
INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION . . . . .	Mar.-Apr.-May-June
ISLAMIC REVIEW . . . . .	Mar.-Apr.-May-June
I.S.S. ANNALS . . . . .	Vol. X., No. 1
JOURNAL OF ADULT EDUCATION . . . . .	Apr.
JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY . . . . .	Apr.
JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS . . . . .	May
JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS AND OPEN SPACES . . . . .	Apr.
JOURNAL OF HEREDITY . . . . .	Jan.-Feb.
JOURNAL OF THE LONDON SOCIETY . . . . .	Apr.-May-June
JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL PLAYING FIELDS . . . . .	Apr.
JOURNAL OF TRANSACTIONS . . . . .	May
KYOTO UNIVERSITY ECONOMIC REVIEW . . . . .	Dec. 1932
KOLNER VIERTELZHRSHFTE . . . . .	1932, Pts. 3, 4
KENT EDUCATION GAZETTE . . . . .	Apr.-May-June
LEAGUE OF NATIONS MONTHLY (Summary) . . . . .	Jan.-Feb.-Mar.-Apr.
LABOUR MANAGEMENT . . . . .	
LECTURE RECORDER . . . . .	June
MAN . . . . .	Mar.-Apr.-May-June
MILLGATE MONTHLY . . . . .	Apr.-May-June
MONIST . . . . .	Jan.
MUSÉE SOCIAL . . . . .	Feb.-Mar.-Apr.-May
NEWS LETTER . . . . .	Mar.
NEW HEALTH . . . . .	Jan.-Feb.-Mar.-Apr.-May-June
NUOVI STUDI . . . . .	Dec.
NEW BRITAIN . . . . .	May-June
OKONOMI OG POLITIK . . . . .	Vol. 7, No. 1
PLUS LOIN . . . . .	No. 95, 96, 97, 98
POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY . . . . .	Mar.
POPULATION . . . . .	June
PROGRESS . . . . .	Apr.-June

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QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS	Feb.
REVUE DES ETUDES COOPÉRATIVES	Mar.-Apr.-June
REVUE DE L'INSTITUT DE SOCIOLOGIE	Mar.
REVUE INTERNAZIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE	Feb.-Apr.
REVUE DES SOCIOLOGISTES	Jan.-Feb.-Mar.-Apr.
REVUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE BRUXELLES	Apr.
RIVISTA INTERNAZIONALE	Jan.-Feb.-May
ROTARY WHEEL	Apr.-May-June
RIVISTA DI SOCIOLOGIA	Feb.-Mar.-Apr.
SBORNIK	Vol. VII., No. 4
SCIENTIA	Mar.-Apr.-May-June
SCHOOL NATURE STUDY JOURNAL	Apr.
SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE	Mar.-May
SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS	Nov.-Dec.
SOCIOLOGIKÁ REVUE	Vol. 4, Pt. 1
SOCIOLOGUS	Mar.
SOCIAL FORCES	Mar.-May
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW	Mar.-Apr.-May
SERVICE	Vol. II., No. 6
SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH	Apr.-May-June
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEWS	Apr.
SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS	Mar.
THE HUMAN FACTOR	Mar.
TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING	Feb.-May
TARSADALOMTUDOMANY	July-Dec.
THE SEARCH	Apr.
THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY	Feb.-June
TOWN PLANNING REVIEW	May
THE COUNTRYMAN	July-Aug.-Sept.
THE CHINESE SOCIOLOGICAL BULLETIN	Mar.
VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIAL UND WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE	Vol. 25, Pts. 3, 4
VESTNIK (ZEMEDEL'SKEHO MUSEA)	Vol. VI., Pt. 1
VESTNIK (AKADEMIE ZEMEDEL'SKI)	Vol. IX., Pt. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
WELTWIRTSCHAFTLICHES ARCHIV	Apr.
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG	Vol. II., No. 1